DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 037 819 24 EA 002 805

AUTHOR Gustafson, Thomas John
TITLE A Procedure to Discriminate Between Successful and Unsuccessful Pressure Groups Which Have an Interest in Education. Final Report.
INSTITUTION New Mexico Univ., Albuquerque.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
BUREAU NO BR-9-G-026
PUB DATE 31 Jan 70
GRANT OEG-7-9-000026-0091(010)
NOTE 179p.

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$9.05
DESCRIPTORS Analysis of Variance, Communication Skills, Community Attitudes, Decision Making, *Educational Change, Educational Policy, Leadership Styles, *Organization, Perception, Planning, *Political Influences, Political Issues, *Political Power, School Systems, Social Structure

ABSTRACT

A pilot study was designed to explore the nature of pressure groups interested in education and to determine characteristics common to those groups. Background material is presented covering the history of pressure groups in the U.S., the social structure in which pressure groups must operate, and the role of pressure groups in the decision-making process. The literature pertinent to group effectiveness is reviewed and eight variables that may have a bearing on effectiveness are discussed and presented as hypotheses. A questionnaire interview schedule was developed and completed interviews were obtained from 56 pressure group leaders (84% of the sample) and 42 educational personnel (91% of the sample). Four variables pertinent to pressure group effectiveness showed significant results: 1) the critical situation, 2) prestige, 3) channels of communication, and 4) strategy. The most significant variable was the groups' strategy since there was a strong relationship between the strategy a pressure group employed and its ability to influence educational policy. [Computer printout pages 157, 159, 161, and 163 may reproduce poorly due to marginal legibility.] (MF)

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FINAL REPORT

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A PROCEDURE TO DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN SUCCESSFUL AND UNSUCCESSFUL PRESSURE GROUPS WHICH HAVE AN INTEREST IN EDUCATION

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JANUARY, 1970

EA 002 805

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
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The University of New Mexico

Albuquerque, New Mexico

January 31, 1970

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a Grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

EA 002 805

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

At times, while preparing this study, I had the feeling the project was being put together by a large committee. So many people played critical roles at different stages that it would take several pages to list them all, but a few should be mentioned by name.

Initially, I acknowledge that the project would not have been possible without the Office of Education Grant, Number 7-9-00026-0091-(010). The full cooperation of the Albuquerque Public School administration was essential in providing the educational sample. Many leaders of the various interest groups, which formed the basis for the study, must be given special thanks. Diligent interviewing by Richard Arndt, Gail DuQuette, Harold Menninger, Kenneth Sutton, and Robert Vrooman gave the data credibility. The encouragement of professors Martin Burlingame, Herbert Hughes, Tom Wiley, and James Cooper was essential at various stages throughout the project. William Merz, Emmelienne Schreiner, and Clovis Phillips assisted in the preparation of the manuscript.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Albert W. Vogel, and the other members of the research committee: Wayne Moellenberg, T. Phillip Wolf, and J. Thomas Zepper. The suggestions and freedom given by these men made the exercise one of the outstanding learning experiences of my life.

SUMMARY

A pilot study was designed to determine whether a procedure could be developed to predict if a pressure group will be effective in its attempt to influence educational policy. The eight variables tested were: 1) the critical situation, 2) the leadership of the group, 3) the prestige of the group in the community, 4) the control of the group over economic goods, 5) the channels of communication with local, state, and/or national officials, 6) shared attitudes of the group with the community, 7) the solidarity of the group, and 8) the strategy of the group to implement the change.

A questionnaire-interview schedule was developed to test the variables. Completed interviews were obtained from fifty-six pressure group leaders (84% of sample) and forty-two educational personnel (91% of sample). The responses were coded for IBM tabulation. Categorical data were handled by a chi square and the interval data by a factor analysis. A one-way analysis of variance was used on the summated scales for the variables. A multiple discriminate analysis determined if the instruments were useful in predicting effectiveness.

The results showed that the critical situation was the first statistically significant variable which determines effectiveness. When financial issues become prominent, more effective groups are interested. This phenomena was explained by the fact that most of the effective groups represented business or governmental interests. The prestige of the organization and its effectiveness was important with the pressure group

sample and not with the educational sample. The channels of communication variable was found significant for both samples.

Closely related and the most significant of the variables was the strategy the organization used to influence educational policy. If the interest group correctly read the organizational structure of the school system and applied pressure to the proper authorities, it would probably be effective in its goal. The pressure group respondents indicated they would apply legitimate authority by the use of publicity, threats, rewards, and economic sanctions. The educational respondents felt the sincerity of the organization, thoroughness of the research, and a reasonable presentation were the best strategies.

The perceptual differences of the two samples seemed marked. The results of the factor analysis of educational issues showed that both were most interested in financial matters. The pressure group sample wanted economic control of the professional aspects of education, while the educational group sample was interested in the distribution of funds. The second major factor for the educational sample was concern over the quality of preparation of students, and the third factor was the professional practices of educators. The pressure group sample reversed the importance of these two factors; generally, they were liberal toward professional aspects of education and innovations to improve the school system.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville observed that Americans have a natural propensity for joining organized groups because through organizations money and talents may be effectively combined.[1] The group also serves psychological purposes of providing the sense of belonging, security, and mutual support, and serves to integrate the accepted goals into manageable and useful alternatives.[2] These groups are a basic part of the American political scene.

Today in America there are many interest groups which feel they should have some voice in educational policy. Local school systems are continually being pressured by organizations who feel it is their right and even their duty to change the educational process. These organizations vary in strength and purpose but still try to exert their wishes on the public. During the 1967-1968 school year, pressure groups have tried to influence traditional educational policies through teacher strikes, race riots, court decisions, and various legislative activities. From all indications, the coming years will see an increase in these movements and their corresponding demands. It is in this context that the present study has been designed and completed.

The Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this project is to explore the nature of the pressure groups which have an interest in education and to determine what characteristics are common to those groups which effectively influence educational policy. Stemming from this inquiry will be a series of questions and methods of analyses which may be used by local school districts to identify the pressure groups which may attempt to influence education. A new approach to pressure group theory may be indicated through the techniques developed for this study.

The Definition of a Pressure Group

Pressure organizations exist when a group of people join together to achieve a common goal. Combining efforts in an organization makes this task easier. Political parties might do this on a broad scale, but unfortunately, in the process of appealing to the masses, they cannot attend to the needs or wants of a particular group. A pressure group can define specific objectives and collectively seek to keep these goals before the public. As Holtzman notes, an "organization provides a more systematic means for uniting money and effort behind the special functions of leadership."[3] It would seem therefore, that a reasonable approach for various interests would be to join a group which shares in a common ideology.

The American public tends to feel that pressure groups are not good. The terms "pressure groups" and "lobbies" have negative connotations, while the phrase "interest group" tends to have a more neutral meaning. The constructive or destructive value of the group to society depends on the purposes of the group. Many of the "evils of society" such as liquor, tobacco, and crime can be attributed to special destructive groups. The National Education Association promotes constructive values such as better education and the American Legion seeks patriotism in the acceptable American tradition.

In general terms, a pressure group wants to create an environment in which it feels secure. Earl Latham has suggested that this security can be achieved by: 1) putting restraints on the environment, 2) neutralizing it, and 3) conciliating it and making it friendly.[4] When the community is safe and predictable, the group is satisfied and becomes less active.

When a group develops enough strength, Harmon Zeigler feels that it has characteristics common to a mass movement: 1) the development of an ideology, 2) an organizational framework, and 3) an enduring quality.[5] It is this latter point which makes Zeigler's definition of an interest group unsuitable for the purpose of this study. There may be many ad hoc bodies, citizen's committees, or as David E. Truman calls them, "tangent groups" which feel that "something must be done."[6] These temporary groups tend to be weak in their organization, narrow in their aims, and to disappear when they gain their purpose or fail in their attempts.

David Riesman prefers the phrase "veto groups" to describe interests which make specific demands on education.[7] These are political or social blocs which

> are too many and diverse to be led by moralizing; what they want is too various to be moralized and too intangible to be bought off for cash alone; and what is called political leadership consists . . . in the tolerant ability to manipulate coalitions.[8]

The veto group may or may not have an organization. Its common trait is a mutual concern about one particular issue. Veto groups tend to be defensive and to frustrate political activity. They prevent other organizations from gaining too much power. Since they are not in a primary position, they usually gain their goals by being against something. Following the resolution of an issue they become dormant again. Since the present study is also interested in analyzing ongoing powerful groups that initiate change, Riesman's concept is too narrow to be used.

One analyst, S. E. Finer, rejects the use of the terms pressure group and interest group because of certain emotional connotations associated with them. [9] Instead, he prefers to use the term lobby to describe a group with designs on policy. Even this term brings to mind sinister connotations of tampering with democratic institutions. For lack of a better term, the author will refer to a person who is representing an interest group before a policy-making body as a lobbyist. The lobbyist may or may not be paid for his service, but his specific purpose is to achieve the goals of the organization through various techniques which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Banfield and Wilson distinguish interest groups and "interest groupings." [10] These authors feel interest groups seek to influence office-holders, whereas interest groupings are subgroups within parties which are concerned with successful completion of special programs. They also differentiate the importance of personal followings, [11] social clubs, [12] and civic associations [13] in influencing city politics. Creating a taxonomy by defining all the various kinds of pressure groups may be useful in another context, however, for the purpose of this study a synthesis and a common definition is useful.

From the foregoing, it would appear that there are two common traits which would tie these groups together: 1) there is a common goal or attitude which draws people to the group, and 2) the collectivity of persons makes demand on the environment. Therefore, David Truman's definition seems to be the most viable for research purposes:

> "Interest group" refers to any group that, on the basis of one or more shared attitudes, makes certain claims upon other groups in the society for the establishment, maintenance, or enhancement of forms of behavior that are implied by the shared attitudes. [14]

Both the terms interest group and pressure group will be used interchangeably throughout the rest of the study, using Truman's clarification as the basis of their meaning.

Inherent within this definition is the possibility for new groups to form. There are many people who do not have interaction even though they have a common attitude. Truman indicates, however, that "any mutual interest . . . any shared attitude is a potential group." [15] He would explain the rise of ad hoc or citizen's groups as the gathering-together of persons who have common interests. This closely resembles Riesman's concept of the rise of a particular issue being the catalyst for the development of a veto group. The situation which causes these persons to organize may differ widely, but the possibility of forming a new group is still present.

The remainder of the background material will cover the history of pressure groups in the United States, the social structure in which pressure groups must operate, and the role of pressure groups in the decision-making process. Most of the literature on these topics deals mainly with state and national interest groups and lobbying activities. Very little has been written on the role of pressure groups in local politics, and even less on local pressure groups with an interest in education.

A History of the Study of Pressure Groups in America

Early political figures in America understood the nature and role of pressure groups in government. James Madison, in his Federalist X, explains that wherever freedom exists there will always be interest groups which will try to use the government selfishly. This condition will cause conflict among the various groups. The government may, if it wishes, eliminate the situation by suppression or a form of brainwashing. Madison felt conflict would be healthy, and harmful effects could be controlled by placing curbs on the "tyranny of the majority."[16] Another statesman, John C. Calhoun, emphasized that in America there was no such thing as a united consensus, there was only a chorus of individual interests.

> Instead of being the united opinion of the whole community it is usually nothing more than the voice of the strongest interest or combination of interests; and not infrequently a small but energetic and active portion of the people.[17]

In his Disquisition Calhoun observes that an active minority tends to run things in political arenas.

Not until 1908 was there any systematic interpretation of governmental processes from the point of view of the interaction of various interests. Arthur Bentley felt that by observing political activity one could understand the political process.[18] He discounts the role of the individual politician; an individual finds his meaning and strength in a group. Bentley observed that many interest groups have purposeful activity. It is this activity which an analyst can observe. Vying pressure groups cause conflict which, in turn, cause a necessary compromise in the formation of public policy. The action and reaction, and compromise and balance of these groups determine the present state of society. Bentley was largely ignored for twenty years, but recently he has been praised and criticized by modern political scientists.[19]

In 1928 there began a series of analyses of governmental decisions concerning various pressure group approaches. George S. Counts interviewed many of the individuals and groups which were responsible for the suspension of the Chicago Superintendent of Schools, William McAndrew.[20] Through this technique he was able to identify two major types of educational interest groups: 1) those connected directly with education (the school board, superintendent, administrative personnel, professional educational associations, and teachers), and 2) lay interests (representing business, labor, women's clubs, churches, city government, state and national governments, the press, and general pressure groups). Though the School Board of Education occupied the most strategic position, Counts concluded that "in Chicago, at least so history writes, the board of education must take its orders from city hall." [21]

Another analysis of pressure group activity was conducted by Peter Odegard. He was the first person to popularize the approach of tracing one pressure group's activity on several legislative bills. [22] He chose the Anti-Saloon League and followed its origin, policy, and tactics over a century of activity. It took one hundred years of promotion to get the Prohibition Amendment passed, but it took only fifteen years for the organization to weaken and the amendment to be repealed.

A general survey of many competing pressure groups in Congress was attempted by Pendleton Herring in 1929. He describes the "pluralistic conception of the state," which includes pressure groups, as a vital part of the political structure. [23]

George Catlin stresses the role of the individual as the most important political unit. [24] He feels the individual is active in innovating, supporting, criticizing, and undermining the present policies. He does this most effectively by belonging to an organized group which has a mutual goal. The individual may belong to many of these associations, depending upon the variety of his interests. Catlin was more concerned with British than American politics, but he understood the importance of organized groups in both political processes.

Another analytical technique was used by E. E. Schattschneider.[25] He took the Smoot-Hawley Tariff of 1928 and looked at the bargaining process that went on during the congressional activity. The interaction and strategies of various economic pressure groups became evident through this approach.

The most important contribution regarding the place pressure groups have in the decision-making process was made by David Truman.[26] He used Bentley as a starting point and attempted to create a theoretical synthesis for understanding interest groups. He developed the aforementioned definition of an interest group. Truman recognized that the individual was important, but he wanted to observe the interaction of the group in society.

Truman rejected the concept that group mentality was separate from the mentality of the individual member and he proposed the concept of overlapping group affiliation. He felt group activity was not above the individual member nor conducive to irrational behavior. Individual members are never completely absorbed by the activity of one group. They have many memberships: formal, informal, religious, economic, and political. These groups may conflict in their political interests and cause many patterns of interactions. A person identifies with a group because of shared attitudes and for psychological reasons of conformity and acceptance. An interest group deliberately advocates uniform attitude systems among the members. Informal groups do this unconsciously but effectively, while formal groups have requirements which are institutionalized and designed to influence the standards of behavior of the membership.

The success of a pressure group is determined by its access to political machinery.

> The product of effective access, of the claims of organized and unorganized interests that achieve access with varying degrees of effectiveness, is a governmental decision. . . . Governmental decisions are the resultant of effective access by various interests, of which organized groups may be only a segment.[27]

Though Truman has presented the basis of the present group theory of politics, he is not without his critics, one of whom is Stanley Rothman.[28] Rothman questions Truman's operationalizing of definitions, logic, methodology, and observations of American group behavior.

A less known study by Belle Zeller found group techniques and influences to be more subtle on the state level than on the national level. [29] Her generalizations may be questionable because her sampling was small. She found that indirect pressure was exerted by creating public opinion through the use of propaganda. Radio, television, phamphlets, books, editorials, letters, and advertising were most commonly utilized.

In his American Democracy Under Pressure, Donald Blaisdell attempted to relate interest groups to political parties, public opinion, public administration, and the judicial and legislative systems. Institutions within and without the formal government were included. Blaisdell pointed out that since there are "shifting coalitions" among interest groups, no one group can dominate the government. [30]

V. O. Key wrote in detail on the nature of the interaction of various pressure groups. [31] Because of the conflicting groups, there must be a balancing of the power through compromise. Key maintains that it should be the role of the government to reconcile the various interests.

One of the first researchers to examine interest groups from an international perspective was Gabriel Almond. He notes that in America

> Interest groups articulate political demands in the society, seek support for these demands among other groups by advocacy and bargaining, and attempt to transform these demands into authoritative public policy by influencing the choice of political personnel, and the

> various processes of public policy-making and enforcement.[32]

Almond feels that the political party seems to stand between the interest group and the decision-makers. However, when political parties dominate interest groups, they tack on ideological content and inhibit the capacity of the group to formulate specific demands.[33] Other generalizations from Almond's research are presented in a later section of this study.

A study of different attitudes and reasons for criticizing the school system has been conducted by Mary Anne Raywid. She writes that "criticism of education can be divided into two types: charges primarily involving facts, and charges primarily involving values."[34] Much of her book is an analysis of the motivation behind the pressures and the faulty reasoning of the critics. Raywid concludes that demands on the educational system stem from value cleavages between professional educators and the general public.[35] These differences are accentuated by the educator's relative lack of power and prestige in the community.

Recent literature is to be presented more appropriately in other contexts and is not discussed at this time. The next section deals with the social structure in which pressure groups must operate in American society.

A Note on Research and Theory of Aspects of the American Social Structure

In order to understand the nature of pressure groups adequately, one must first look at organizational psychology, power structures, and the shifts in modes of influence within the organization and the community. To provide a theoretical framework for studying pressure groups, Stanley Rothman proposes:

> First, groups are systems of action, and, thus, one may legitimately attempt to develop propositions dealing with regularities in the behavior of interest groups which are part of the logic of group action in a wide variety of sociological systems. . . . Second, a social system must be examined in the last analysis in terms of patterns of action, but it consists of both individuals and groups as actors.[36]

A group is always located within a larger social system. Edgar Schein notes that organizations find it difficult to define the appropriate boundaries to which they try to limit themselves.[37] Schools fulfill many functions -- some primary and some secondary. Education is directly aimed at providing learning experiences, socializing skills, and in developing vocational abilities for the younger generation. School systems, however, also provide jobs for teachers and janitors, they use food and materials from the community, they provide a work force for the town, and they provide a potential clientele for the university. The same ambiguity arises when one analyzes any group which evades any clear-cut definition of the pressure group's role in the social system.

Talcott Parsons has hypothesized that all social systems or sub-systems must solve four major problems in order to survive: 1) They must adapt to changing conditions, 2) They must provide goal attainment for the members, 3) They must integrate the various internal departments, and 4) They must provide latent-pattern maintenance and effective tension management.[38] Pressure groups, therefore, must acknowledge these critical quantities and make the necessary adjustments if their usefulness is to be maximized. To operationalize this broad theory many researchers have studied in more detail the nature of organizations and the factors which influence the proper functioning of the groups in their effort to attain their objectives.

E. L. Trist and A. K. Rice have developed socio-technical models showing that organizations must contend not only with the nature of the job, but also with the nature of the social system.[39] George Homans discusses the combination of environmentally determined activities, interactions, and sentiments within organizations.[40] This combination is the external system which exists in a physical, cultural, and technological environment. Homans calls this interaction the internal system. Both the external and internal systems are mutually dependent, and a change in one will cause a corresponding change in the other. The interaction of the environment and the organization takes place through key people holding positions in both systems. The "two-step" flow of communication developed by Katz and Lazarsfeld shows that opinion leaders of the community are crucial to this interaction process.[41]

A very active field of endeavor for sociologists and political scientists has been to identify these leaders. The first breakthrough was reported in Floyd Hunter's Community Power Structure, published in 1952.[42] Using the reputational technique, many studies have been consistent in finding particular patterns of influence ranging from monolithic to polylithic structures.[43] William Domhoff extends these conclusions to a ruling clique which controls the important institutions and policies in America.[44] Bloomberg and Sunshine found that the number of non-school persons nominated as having power in a community is much greater than school people.[45] These influentials persistently affect the outcomes of major educational policy. There seems to be a low correlation between what people believe and what they do.[46] Because of the many demands competing for attention and money, education tends to take a lower position on the community's priority list.[47] Robert Dahl and Edward Banfield have altered Hunter's research methods with the resulting findings being different from the more traditional approach.[48] They see leaders who are more interest-oriented. When a particular issue becomes prominent, they take the leadership position and then become inactive after the issue has been resolved. Peter Bachrach, Marton Baratz, and Thomas Anton have challenged both the power elitists' and the pluralists' positions on grounds of research techniques, basic assumptions, and faulty implications. [49]

In The Rulers and the Ruled, Agger, Goldrich, and Swanson found that if the power structure is a "Consensual Elite" -- a strong nucleus of influentials who represent the general beliefs of the community -- then other forms of structure are unlikely to develop. [50] Their research indicated no evidence of a comprehensive "Consensual Mass." [51] Their own conclusion and preference was for a "Developed Democracy" to be present in a community. [52] Elections, therefore, would be used to obtain sympathetic decision-makers and would also allow for shifts in community feeling. The democracy would keep the probability of illegitimate sanctions low, allowing for more freedom of word and deed.

A study of the New Trier, Illinois School District found that "like other political systems, school districts provide mechanisms for selecting decision-makers and exercising control over decisions they make." [53] Thus the publicly-elected school board and an appointed superintendent combine the feelings of the community and the knowledge of the expert. The integrative mechanisms found in this pluralistic community were 1) common values concerning community goals, 2) multiple loyalities, 3) effective communication networks, and 4) a cosmopolitan leadership with its power based on prestige or position.[54]

Recently Norton Long has described the social structure as one caused by many actors playing selfish games.[55] Economic or political activities need the cooperation of many other persons, consequently, they use and are used by other actors. Long does not completely debunk the older concept about an overall top leadership and generally accepted community norms and values, but he feels the self-interest of various groups should provide a more realistic picture of the community social structure.

Pressure groups apparently feel that a political decision is necessary to achieve their goals. When many contending pressure groups are making demands upon the bureaucratic system, there is a process of sorting of desires which has been described by David Easton.[56] Easton calls this process gatekeeping. The first gatekeeper is designated as the recognized authorities who convert wants into positive actions by their own internal moral norms based on what they think the public expects of them. Depending on his personal integrity, a politician may or may not be influenced by pressure groups to sponsor a bill or back a movement. The second gatekeeper is described as the cultural norms of the community which impose some sort of outer limit on the number and kinds of wants seeking entry into the system. This may be expressed through moral edict or popular vote. The third gatekeeper is the complex communication channels of the system. The process of passing on wants -- sponsoring a bill, sub-committees, house votes, motions, procedures, veto, terminology, Supreme Court review and implementation -- gives many chances for filtering out pressure group desires. The final gatekeeper Easton discusses is the reduction process which allows for modifying demands. Support can be mobilized and maximized to discourage the initiators from pursuing the matter further. This is done by collecting all similar demands and combining them into a single demand. This whole process, the governmental system, reduces the total number of raw demands and determines what groups will gain access. Since this is the way America has apparently devised to handle pressure groups, Harry Eckstein has made the following observation:

> The most important, and the most obvious, determinant of the selection of channels for pressure group activity, in any political system, is the structure of the decision-making process which pressure groups seek to influence. . . . Basically, it is always the interplay of governmental structure, activities and attitudes which determine the form of pressure group politics (in the sense of channels of participation) in a given society.[57]

Since the days of the Great Depression, there has been a change in the structure of American life. This basic change may be called federalism. Robert Schulze studied community power structure from a historical perspective and concludes that as the community becomes involved in the broader national economy, the traditional pyramidal structures described by Hunter _et al_. gives way to a new structure.[58] Under certain conditions, Easton has indicated that the traditional gatekeepers can be by-passed.[59] In Easton's schema, there would be by-passing only during revolutions or massive grass-root demands. Holtzman has provided another basis for by-passing the traditional gatekeepers. Through the infiltration of federalism in local politics, interest groups can by-pass both local and state gatekeepers.[60] Local programs, sponsored by Urban Renewal, Office of Economic Opportunity, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the like, skip the local gatekeepers and appeal directly to Washington. Certain educational or civil rights groups also seem to be in this same privileged position. Almond notes that when interest groups seek out important points of access -- where policy is initiated, vetoed, or revised -- it is important to consider the governmental framework.[61] If the group can legitimately and effectively jump the traditional governmental channels, it has properly assessed its own position and read the form of government.

Since the pressure group must work within the American social structure, another question arises as to the function of the group in the larger community. If the pressure group is indeed a sub-system in the governmental process, what does it contribute to the whole system? It is this question which the following section attempts to answer.

The Role of Pressure Groups in Politics

Contrary to some authorities, pressure groups serve a useful purpose in democratic societies. Eckstein wrote that

> In the language of contemporary 'functional' theory, pressure groups are not manifestly dysfunctional in regard to democratic processes; they do not undermine them. They are in fact an inevitable term in the syndrome of an effective democratic system.[62]

Robert Morgan maintains that groups play both a representative and administrative function -- especially on the local level.[63] La Palombara, after analyzing Italian politics, feels that when a legislator listens to a group, he believes that the group represents the clientela, or the expression of the common feeling of a social group.[64] However, as we noted above, Calhoun and others observed that public opinion was usually the noise of the most vocal group. Truman stated that "in developing a group interpretation of politics . . . we do not need to account for a totally inclusive interest because one does not exist."[65] Zeigler tends to be a bit more blunt when he writes "every public policy helps someone and hurts someone; laws operate to the advantage of some groups and to the disadvantage of others."[66] The small minority which got the Prohibition Amendment through Congress was superseded by another minority who succeeded in repealing the same law. From this standpoint it seems doubtful that a true consensus can be reached or articulated.

The representative function may be implied by Eckstein who observes that a pressure group "provides information to decision-makers, gives technical counsel, participates (however indirectly) in public administration itself, helps to win and organize support, and acts as a communication channel for the grievances, large and small, which arise even in the best administered human enterprises."[67] James Deakin, Henry Ehrmann, Lester Milbrath, S. E. Finer, Abraham Holtzman, and others agree that a vital function of interest groups is to provide sound research on how a bill will affect the economy or society.[68] The group supplies information about complex subjects. It provides facts and figures. The most valued groups are the ones which provide the most accurate and honest information. This function is most needed on the state or local levels where money and a research staff are notably lacking. Legislators are indebted to groups for feedback of grievances which may be the bases of new or corrective measures. Especially in Washington, and decreasingly as one moves to the local government, this function is performed best by a professional lobbyist. It is his job to gain access to the decision-makers and present his expertise and/or his cause. His power, prestige, budget, personality, methods, and techniques will determine his chance of success. These are discussed in detail at a later time.

An important representative function of a pressure group is its ability to get out the vote. In a democratic system the person or issue that can command substantial blocs of votes will remain in power. Various interests can use grass-roots pressure to control these votes, and may thus control the collective voice of the people. This ability insures certain privileges and limits the possible stands a candidate can take. Imagine the Democratic Party taking up an anti-labor platform and still remaining the favorite party of the AFL-CIO. Pressure group representatives may either give the campaign public support or financial gifts to influence the election outcome. Some groups contribute to both parties, insuring future access and favor.

The roles pressure groups play at the administrative level of government are varied. The importance of a president's or governor's veto may be a deciding factor in a pressure group's activity upon a top executive officer. Besides providing expert advise to influential administrative personnel, pressure groups may recommend or sponsor both elected or appointed officials. This means that persons who are sympathetic or knowledgeable about the goals of a group will be in positions of influence within the structure. Many times a group deals with a specific agency which is concerned with similar kinds of issues. The group may provide experts, influence appointments, and try to force policy decisions through the means available to them.

These pressure group roles are not fully understood by the public. Banfeld and Wilson have noted a curious aspect in the understanding of the role pressure groups play in the political structure.

> We are in the habit of thinking that pressure groups use public agencies, and of course they often do. But the influence commonly runs the other way as well, the public agency using the pressure group, and there are a good many cases where the "pressure group" exists solely to be used by the public agency. [69]

It is possible for legislators or administrators to delegate to an interest group the job of drumming up support for a bill, doing research, providing money, issuing press releases, and giving testimonials. Elected officials know how to use influential organizations or pressure groups for the benefit of the system.

As a final alternative, pressure groups may operate in the judicial arena. Our courts issue decisions and test laws, yet the judiciary is a difficult branch of government to influence. Group action has to wait until a case is brought to trial, and appellate courts can refuse to hear cases handed up from lower courts; courts are only interested in cases which test laws or set precedents. Holtzman finds that pressure groups have to be flexible in their strategies. [70] Pressure groups cannot easily bribe judges or juries, however, interested parties can attempt to influence the selection of judges, either by election or appointment. They may be successful in getting a higher court to reverse a lower court ruling or to declare a law unconstitutional, through various methods. They may use controversial cases which may set precedents for other actions, or they may be allowed to give limited expert testimony during a hearing under the amicus curiae provision. In any case, for a pressure group to influence the court system, the access is limited and in most cases very expensive. It is attempted only as a last resort or as an attempt to set a precedent.

Throughout this discussion there seems to be an inherent problem of conflict of interest which should be briefly examined. Key and Truman, as noted above, believe that there is a tendency for pressure groups to balance each other out. [71] Zeigler demonstrated that one of the uses of congressional committees is to bring dissenting interest groups together. [72] Experienced groups negotiate and compromise among themselves on issues which are presented before legislatures. If particular desires coincide, alliances between groups may be formed for mutual benefits and bargaining positions. It might well be that Key's concept of the reconciling role of the government is a primary function of the social structure. In many cases, it is necessary to have a strong neutral party to ease the tension among interest groups.

Most of the activity, which pressure groups are involved in, is inconsequential for the functioning of the political system. Eckstein acknowledges that only a small part of the group's time is spent in pressuring activities since each organization has other more important goals.[73] There may be little opposition to the desired goal of a pressure group, even when the attention of the group is directed toward the government. The success of many poorly organized and small ad hoc committees is due to the fact that few people are concerned with the group's narrow or limited interests.[74]

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER II

THEORY AND MODEL

Pressure groups vary considerably in their ability to achieve their goals. Some groups are small and effective; others are large and ineffective. Some are cohesive and respected; others are also cohesive but disregarded. Some are prestigous yet unsuccessful; others have less prestige but are more effective. In this chapter the literature pertinent to the group's effectiveness in achieving its desires is reviewed and eight variables which may have a bearing on this effectiveness are discussed. An attempt is made to organize the data into a theoretical framework which was used to give direction to the empirical aspect of the project.

The Critical Situation

The conception of unorganized but shared interests will be useful in looking at the role of a critical situation which may produce political activity. If there is a possibility of a common consensus, and if there is an overlapping membership pattern, then it would be reasonable to assume that under certain conditions these potential groups will not always remain dormant.[1] David Riesman has indicated that

> Power on the national scene must be viewed in terms of issues. It is possible that, where an issue involves only two or three veto groups, themselves tiny minorities, the official or unofficial broker among the groups can be quite powerful -- but only on that issue.[2]

A threat of a change in morality or structure might spring these potential groups into activity. Robert Dahl also suggests that persons or groups are active or influential in specific "issue-areas."[3] It would seem that when a certain condition occurs, a specific group of people would be concerned and would attempt to influence the course of events. For example, when a controversial speaker, Stokely Carmichael, was scheduled at the University of New Mexico in the spring of 1968, various community groups voiced strenuous objections while others voiced support. A general list of critical issues, as Dahl attempted, would serve the purpose of the present study to the extent that one would be able to see how specific groups respond to the issues. It would be folly to create a complete taxonomy of issues which would stimulate a particular group in view of Truman's studies. He discovered that a change in structure does not mean that "the slightest action in violation of any of the community norms inevitably and instantly produces a restrictive response from another source."[4]

From this brief discussion on the various aspects of a critical situation, a null hypothesis may be presented:

> There will be no significant difference between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the types of issues which stimulate action.

The Leadership of the Group

There is a great deal of evidence concerning the importance of leadership in the success of any movement. There have already been numerous studies delineating the kinds,[5] tasks,[6] and personalities[7] of leaders. It is envisioned that this study can discover new relationships of the pressure group itself and its activity in society; therefore, leadership will not be investigated as thoroughly as other aspects of the group.

It will benefit this investigation to look briefly at some of the literature which directly deals with the leader and pressure group activity. Key suggests that, at least theoretically, those in control are accountable to the members of the group.[8] In practice this is not necessarily the case. Truman, Zeigler, and others point out that most members are apathetic; consequently, the group is run by the "active minority."[9] It is this small group of interested persons which is defined as the leadership.

According to Cartwright and Zander's theory, the basic function of a leader is to direct the activity of the group toward goal achievement and provide for group maintenance.[10] It is taken for granted that persons in the group recognize when these two functions are performed. This becomes a question of perception of both the leaders and the group. Herbert Simon feels that effective leaders satisfy the membership by 1) unconsciously acting in accord with membership wishes, 2) responding consistently with their own attitudes or beliefs which coincide with the attitudes and beliefs of the members, and 3) trying to act in accord with what they think the members want.[11] However, when this theory was tested with the Oregon Educational Association, it was found that leaders were more active and liberal than the membership, they misjudged the enthusiasm of the group; they perceived more dissatisfaction than actually existed.[12] In New Mexico John Aragon reported a lack of clarity, and an existence of misunderstandings among teachers, school administrators, and the leadership of a state educational association, regarding the purpose of the organization, the nature of the organization, and the type of involvement expected of the membership.[13] Apparently the membership expected a different form of behavior from the leaders and they were satisfied when the leaders did not place demands on them. Generally the leaders accepted this view, but when situations arose where the members could play an active part, confusion resulted. There is evidence to support the observation that the interest in government and frequency of interaction with ranking officials are prerequisites for a successful pressure group are indicants of "the stability and long experience of its leadership core." [14] These traits are necessary for access to key individuals in the government and for the ability to articulate the desires of the members. The hypothesis may be stated:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on the quality of leadership than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful*

The Prestige of the Group

Most writers on the political scene agree that the status or prestige a group has in the social structure helps determine its effectiveness. Generally, status is gained by drawing members from the middle and upper-middle classes. The professional associations are gathered from these classes; consequently, they are permitted access to the legislators. Hacker and Aberbach show that business interests have more prestige and are better received than laboring groups. [15] Truman felt that members of the higher status groups tend to have easier access to the key decision-makers in the government. [16]

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*Explanatory note: For reasons discussed in the following chapter, a low mean score indicates a higher quality of leadership, prestige, economic control, communication channels, solidarity, and strategy. The exception is the shared goals and attitudes of the interest group where a high mean score indicates more congruence within the community.

When an interest group is new or weak, Zeigler, _et al_. believes that its ability to affiliate with prestigous men or institutions helps promote its cause. [17] Deakin reports that this technique is one of the reasons for the high success rate of _ad hoc_ groups. [18]

If the joint conclusion of the aforementioned observations concerning the role of prestige in pressure group politics has any validity, then the hypothesis on this point seems plausible:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on prestige within the community than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The Economic Control of the Group

Many persons feel that the size of the organization would be the most important ingredient for successful pressuring activity, but this is not necessarily the case. Size is not critical unless it can make its "quantitative weight felt." [19] James Deakin indicates that, as the Buchanan Committee pointed out, the most important pressures come from large organizations which have the financial resources to command substantial blocs of votes. [20] Donald Blaisdell reiterates this theme by stating that "in competition with other groups the pressure groups of the well-to-do enjoy an immense advantage." [21] The reasons for this phenonmenon are many and varied.

The use of indirect means of pressuring is discussed in more detail later, but one conclusion regarding this approach may be stated: It is expensive. Hacker and Aberbach have provided the basis for the assumption that business interests have the wealth to engage in public-relations campaigns, to promote slogans, to use pickets, to mobilize voters -- which cannot be a part of small, weak, or poor interests.[22] Milbrath agrees with this observation.[23] Studies on local, state, or national power structures seem to indicate that the ruling clique is a coalition of businessmen who are from the upper classes and have greater economic resources available.[24] Several authors call this the power base of the organization since it helps determine the strategy used.[25]

Business has more than blocs of votes and millions of dollars. Several authors have documented the fact that positions of high responsibility within the government are usually delegated to businessmen.[26] Whether they are more competent, or whether they represent the image of the successful American is not known. But having them in high offices probably means that pressure groups which represent business will receive sympathetic and preferential treatment. Since America's economy is closely tied to the interests of business, this thesis is not hard to understand.

The hypothesis concerning the economic variable in the research study may be stated:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on the control over economic goods in the community than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The Channels of Communication of the Group

There must be some form of communication with the decision-makers if a pressure group is to be effective. Zeigler reiterates Truman's theme that "without access to administrative machinery it is very difficult for interest groups to influence decisions."[27] The form of the access may differ, but the closer the ties a group has with the hierarchy, the better its chances of success.

Even when a paid registered lobby is missing, most of the studies indicate that close personal interaction with the official is most effective. When a lobbyist shows his expertise and gains the respect of the legislators, he becomes a welcomed visitor. He spends much of his time in committees with key officials. Maintaining this relationship is critical and may involve providing financial aid, doing favors, or campaigning for the candidate or the issue. Once the representative of the organization gains a hearing, he must be able to state the goals and needs of the group effectively.

Truman's concept of overlapping membership stems from the idea that a group operates in standardized patterns of interaction rather than a collective of individual units.[28]

This insight is useful in explaining why certain well-to-do groups seem to have a high success ratio, while other groups do not seem to get a hearing. The same members in the influential groups have channels of communication with other influential people who, in turn, have good relationships with the officials. Important civic clubs, service organizations, churches, boards of directors, professional associations, and the like serve as media for the interaction to take place.

Truman also observed that when there are stable patterns of interaction, the pressure group maintains the private, traditional ways of promoting interests. Only when there is a change in the social climate or the access is threatened, does the privileged group turn to the public for support.[29] Truman was discussing groups which had already gained access to the governmental process. Most interest groups concentrate their energy and money on influencing public opinion rather than hiring lobbies.[30] The reasoning for this approach seems to be that governmental decisions will hopefully conform to the public's demand. There may also be a fear that an open governmental lobby will alienate the public from the goals of the group. This seems to be the reason why teachers tend to be against an educational lobby in state or national capitols.[31]

In summary, the evidence would indicate that keeping the communication with key officials on a face-to-face basis benefits the group. Therefore, the following hypothesis would seem valid:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on the channels of communication with local, state, and/or national leaders than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The Goals and Attitudes of the Group

Commonly held attitudes reflect the major institutions of the community. In describing the city Banfield and Wilson write:

> The city is among other things a set of values, habits, sentiments, myths, and understandings which are (more or less) shared by the people who live in it, and the sharing of which constitutes (again, more or less) a social bond attaching the people of the city to one another and -- if the bond is sufficiently strong (it may not be) -- making them feel themselves to be, and therefore to be in fact, a community.[32]

This community consensus may be called the majority opinion. Robert Bierstedt maintains that majorities sustain the mores of the community and are responsible for the amount of cultural integration which takes place.[33] The interest group is in a position to either solicit support from the majority, or to risk the wrath of the same majority by its goals or attitudes. To desire the approval of the majority, the ends which are selected must be vague and broad enough so they do not offend the mass. If organizations such as the Parent-Teacher Association, want a large heterogeneous membership, they must avoid anything controversial. However, a small homogeneous group like the American Society of Civil

Engineers may be narrow and demanding in their ideology.

When an interest group tries to exert pressure on the government, its chances for success depend largely upon the nature of objectives being sought. Several authors note that, as critics of school gather momentum and sympathizers, there is an enlargement of the list of demands.[34] Most of the pressure seems to come from the conservative elements of the community rather than from liberal elements.[35] Jennings concludes that parents have fewer grievances about what is taught than about other aspects like teacher attitudes, morals, civil rights, regulations, disciplinary measures, school services, and the like.[36] Schools are generally criticized by the community when 1) school and community values differ, 2) schools are perceived as not transmitting culture, and 3) schools are thought of as instigators of social change.[37]

Zeigler proposes that groups who are perceived by the authorities as serving a representative function will be more effective.[38] It was noted previously that La Palombara shares this view. The proposition takes for granted that the politician's perception of the group's objectives are congruent with his own perception of the public's desires.

A closely related concept is Zeigler's observation that the success a group has in influencing policy is the degree to which the legislators agree with the professed ideals of the group.[39] If there are similar goals between legislator and lobbyist, there should be no trouble gaining the objective. In fact, when goals coincide, the official indicates that there is no pressure; the lobbyist is merely supplying information. However, pressure is reported when an interest group has goals which differ from those of the legislator.[40] This need not necessarily deter the group's effectiveness. If it has wealth, prestige, cohesion, or a large following, it may put enough pressure on the government to gain its ends. However, since this situation is probably an exceptional case, the hypothesis still seems viable:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly higher mean score on the shared goals and attitudes within the community than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The Solidarity of the Group

Studies on group-solidarity and achievement are ambiguous. They describe the closeness of feeling or unity of purpose within a group, but the studies have not conclusively related it to goal attainment. Studies on group morale following World War II showed that cohesive groups were able to bear up under trying conditions better than groups with less cohesiveness.[41] However, cohesiveness and efficiency have not always been positively correlated in accomplishing tasks.[42] Researchers have shown that cohesiveness is attractive to the members and may thus become part of the overall goal of the organization.[43] Many highly cohesive groups become mutual admiration societies with little or no work being completed. Fiedler seems to indicate that productivity may lie in areas other than group solidarity.[44]

Some generalizations which have been observed may apply to the problem at hand. Several authors have reported that a specific business interest, like a corporation group, will be more cohesive than a voluntary association.[45] Monypenny acknowledges that a small interest will probably have more internal solidarity, but it will try to influence the general public rather than to concentrate on power leaders.[46] There seems to be a tendency toward cohesion among various businesses which may lead to the formation of a large coalition.[47] This tendency establishes a powerful bloc of votes and money.

When a situation seems critical, there is a trend toward more internal cohesion. Truman indicates that the frequency or rate of interaction within the group helps determine the priority that the group holds in an individual's value system.[48] Truman felt that the amount of interaction determined the strength of the group. It was this interaction which led Luttbeg and Zeigler to assess some of the causes of cohesion in a professional teachers' association.[49] They found the leadership minority was far more active than the rank and file members.

There are many factors which affect cohesion. The kind and scope of goals will help determine the amount of commitment to the organization. Rivalry with other organizations will tend to draw the group together, but this does dissipate energy. Selznick and Sills note that when an organization becomes structured, problems arise which hinder progress toward the original goal.[50] There must be internal relevance, activity provided for members, creative secondary goals, and strong, sensitive leadership for the organization to remain cohesive.

The weight of evidence is that, even with the negative aspects, cohesiveness is better than anarchy. Therefore, the data lead to this conclusion:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on internal solidarity than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The Strategy of the Group

American interest groups have a great many strategies available to achieve their goals. Holtzman observes that they can operate on local, state, or national levels; they can concentrate on legislative, executive, or judicial branches of the government.[51] Failure at one level does not spell defeat, since the group can move its attention to another arena. In whatever area the interest group chooses to operate, the object is to gain access to the policy makers. The group must bring pressure to bear where it will get the desired results.

Pressure groups do not have to influence large

γ

bodies of persons to get their point across. In voting, one needs to gain only 50 per cent of the vote plus one. Actually, a group only has to influence a few key people. Men with seniority, chairmen of key committees, and floor leaders are the persons who wield power. These key people can be limited to certain committees which are concerned with the interest area. The easiest place to influence a bill is in the sub-committee, where the legislators are dealing with highly technical and complicated material. Since the legislators usually are not experts, they need knowledgeable advice. The chairman is crucial to the group since he determines the kind of study to be conducted--whether to have a hearing or not, who testifies, wording of the bill, and the aspects of the problem to be covered. These details determine whether the bill will pass the session or not.

Generally, the pressure comes through direct or indirect contacts with the leaders. In the direct approach the lobby has face-to-face contact with the person he is trying to influence. The most effective lobbies try to be as inconspicuous as possible. If activities are conducted in private, neither the lobbyist nor the official will be criticized publicly. The legislators are wary of an image which might portray them as tools of pressure groups -- an image which could lead to their being discredited by colleagues and constituents. Besides discrediting the legislator, publicity could be bad for the interest group as well. Only as a last resort, will pressure groups, who have had easy access in the past, bring public pressure on the legislator. It is expensive to explain positions publicly, to influence votes, to provide bribes, to muster pickets, and other such activities. The tactic of threatening a legislator during an election is seldom used, since the group can only do this once. If the pressure group loses, the official will deny it future access and he will pass the word along to influential colleagues.

Milbrath, after polling legislators and lobbyists, discovered that most legislators on both state and national levels prefer the direct method of persuasion.[52] The most efficient method is to have a professional lobbyist at the capitol. He is the person who provides reliable information who is invaluable to the decision-maker. In fact, the most important function a lobbyist can perform "is the mutual exchange of information."[53] Lobbyists make things easier for the legislator. Lobbyists donate funds for re-election campaigns and they often provide gifts and other extras for the friendly legislator. Though the bribe is not important on the national level, it is quite effective and frequently used on the state level.[54] James Deakin provides a series of duties which effective influentials use: 1) defining differences between disputing parties, 2) seeing what each side will give up or insist upon retaining, 3) finding pressure points to compel giving up a little more, 4) knowing weaknesses, 5) working out compromises, and 6) pressing hard to get the platform accepted, using every trick to get it passed.[55]

The indirect approach may be more expensive, but it is still effective. Zeigler observes that most interest groups depend more on mass communication to create a favorable public opinion than on lobbies.[56] At election time, non-members are more amenable to the propaganda of an interest group; members can be more easily mobilized; and the threat of retaliation against candidates whose past record was not helpful are all present. The use of financial contributions and voter mobilization are also important indirect means of influencing elected officials.

During a session the use of letter-writing and public-relations campaigns may have some effect, though not as much as other techniques. If channels of communication are open with one legislator, a group might induce the friendly party to talk to the target party. This same approach might be used with personal friends of the legislator, if leverage can be used on the friends.

The use of the cross-lobby -- having coalitions with other lobbies in order to receive favors and assistance -- is a powerful strategy. Combining resources, votes, lobbies, and contacts exerts much pressure on the legislator, contributing to the mutual benefit of the interested parties.

In a previous section, the author reviewed the ways pressure groups influence the executive and judicial branches of the government; they will not be discussed again at this time.

The proper strategy depends upon many variables. The social and structural peculiarities of the community and the interest group's place in this structure are important ingredients. The direct involvement of influential people of the community in the formation of policy will have a favorable impact for recruiting numbers of sympathizers and swaying those who are actually in a decision-making position. Major efforts should be directed toward persons who are inclined to favor the sought-after goals. [57] It is usually more effective to gain support for one issue than to attempt a number of changes.

The ability of a group to determine the proper pressure point for a particular educational goal is elaborated by Thomas Eliot. [58] According to his analysis, what is taught or read may be left to the experts, the community, the state, or national bodies. Facilities are usually decided at a local level, while district-organization is left to the state.. Personnel is to be handled by the local district, though the school board usually chooses the superintendent. The state sets minimum standards through its certification requirements. Financing is achieved through local taxation and by state and federal appropriations. School boards tend to feel it is their duty to develop the educational program since the public elected them. However, administrators and, more recently, teachers feel that they, themselves, are the experts. In other words, there seems to be no definite line of authority in education. Eliot feels most curricular or financial pressures exist on the state level. However, Zeigler and Jennings found more pressure came from parents on the local level.[59]

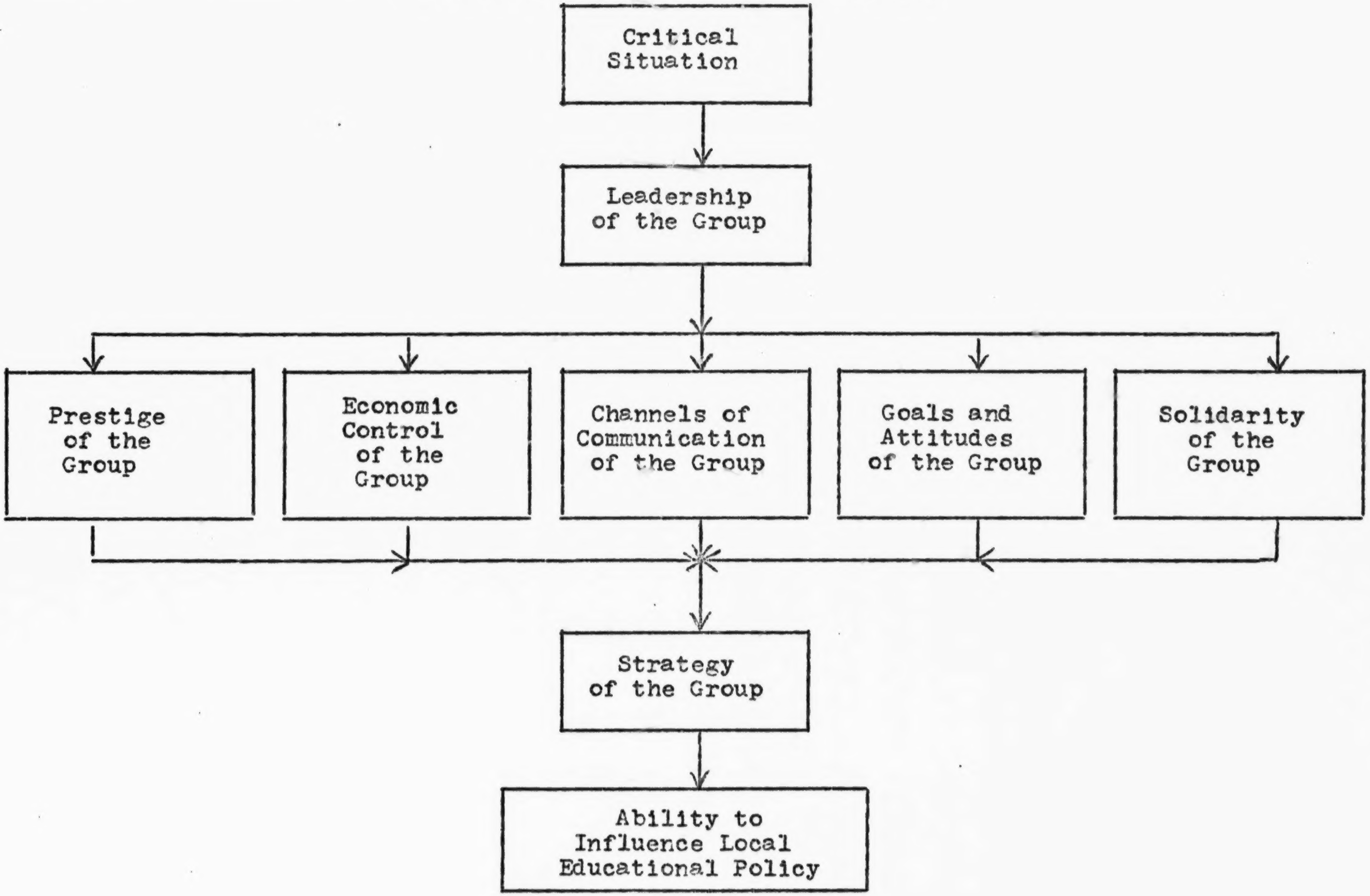
The strategy which the group uses is important in its bid for change in education. Therefore, the hypothesis to be tested is:

> Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on strategy than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The Theory and Model

The theoretical basis for the research variables has been discussed. A graphical representation of the interaction of these variables might follow the gravity model in Figure 1. The flow of the model may be explained in the following manner: The research indicates that it usually takes a critical situation to stimulate the leaders into activating the group. The leader's ability to assess

FIGURE 1 -- Variables which affect a leader's ability to mobilize an interest group to influence local educational policy


Critical Situation
Leadership of the Group
Prestige of the Group
Economic Control of the Group
Channels of Communication of the Group
Goals and Attitudes of the Group
Solidarity of the Group
Strategy of the Group
Ability to Influence Local Educational Policy

the situation and to mobilize the group is the first internal variable to be considered. The personal qualities of the leadership of a pressure group help determine the group's prestige, economic control in the community, and channels of communication with local, state, and/or national officials. The leadership also plays an important role in shaping and articulating goals and attitudes which the group embraces. The leadership-styles and the communication of the goals help develop internal group solidarity. It is also the duty of the leaders to account for all of the above variables and develop the proper strategy by which the group will attempt to influence a particular policy.

With this work completed, the next stage is testing the hypotheses. The measuring instruments and analytical techniques for testing the model will be discussed in the following chapter.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapter the review of the literature indicated eight variables which may have a bearing on the ability of a group to influence public policy. These include 1) the critical situation, 2) the group leadership, 3) the group prestige, 4) the channels of communication with local, state, and national decision-makers, 5) the control over economic goods, 6) the group goals or attitudes, 7) the group solidarity, and 8) the group strategy. In order to investigate these variables, an interview schedule and a questionnaire were developed, an interview program was conducted, and the results were evaluated. Following George S. Counts' approach to the analysis of organizations which may attempt to influence school policy, procedures were made for interviewing 1) persons who are active in educational work, and 2) persons who represent interest groups. In addition, approval was secured for the use of Albuquerque Public School employees in the first part of the sampling. (See Appendix I).

The Interview Schedule

The initial step of the methodological part of the study was to construct a questionnaire and interview schedule for the pressure groups (See Appendixes II, III, and IV) and educational groups (See Appendixes IV, V, and VI). The instruments were pretested on eight pressure group leaders and ten school administrators. The items were evaluated and revised as needed.

Six professors of education at the University of New Mexico and eight public school people were asked which interest groups had tried to influence local educational policy. From the responses, a list of fifty pressure groups was generated. This list forms the basis for testing the hypotheses.

The Critical Situation. The respondent was asked to indicate the three issues he felt would be most important to his group. He was also asked to choose the three issues which he felt the other groups on the list would think most important. The given choices were items which have recently appeared in the newspapers and included: 1) broad educational policy (educational parks and kindergartens), 2) teacher professionalism (teacher strikes and hiring and firing of teachers), 3) curriculum (change to programmed reading and vocational education), 4) instruction (pupil discipline and controversial books), and 5) finance (raising taxes and revision of the state school finance program).

The Group Leadership. Six questions were designed to test the actual leadership of the group. Each pressure group leader interviewed was asked to list influential persons who he knew were in a position to aid his organization if it wanted to change some policy. [1] The issues were educational finance, broad educational policy, and curriculum. Three questions were also asked concerning the method of choosing the chief executive officer, whether he was salaried, and whether he had any occupation other than his duties in the organization.

The Group Prestige. The respondent was asked, "In your opinion, what is the prestige of each of these groups in the community?" For each of the fifty organizations there was a four point scale; number one was the high prestige, and number four was the low prestige. In addition, there were two questions asking whether most of the members were considered business and professional people and how many members were bankers.

The Channels of Communication. Six questions were designed to determine the actual communication the respondent felt he had with local and state decision-makers. In the questionnaire, he was asked to name the persons he could contact, or would try to contact, if his organization wanted to change any financial, broad educational, or curricular policy.

The Economic Control. The potential control over economic goods in the community was indicated by answers to questions as to: 1) whether most of the members were business or professional people, 2) whether the organization would use economic means for influencing school policy, 3) whether the organization would spend $500 or $100 for financing a candidate for the school board, 4) how many bankers were in the organization, and 5) how many members managed businesses of over 100 employees.

The Group Attitude. Thirty-two questions were given to each respondent to determine his attitude on issues which had been in the local newspapers recently. Each question had a scaled series of responses ranging from strongly approve to strongly disapprove.

The Group Solidarity. Answers to determine group solidarity were obtained by asking a series of thirteen items, designed to uncover: 1) the strength of commitment to the group, 2) the degree of outside interaction, 3) the use of discipline in the group, and 4) the size and the specific membership requirements of the group.

The Group Strategy. Using the ten issues described under The Critical Situation, the respondent was asked to mark the level of the educational hierarchy that he felt would be necessary to contact if he wanted to change a particular issue. The answers to the questions listed under The Channels of Communication will add to the strategy data. Information as to whether or not the organization will use economic means for influencing policy and whether it would support a school board candidate is also relevant. The response to the open-ended question, "If your organization felt that there was a specific educational issue which MUST be changed, what would be the most successful way of getting the change enacted?" helped determine the strategy a group would use.

Effectiveness. To gain a perception of the group's effectiveness in educational matters, a four point scale ranging from always effective to never effective was answered for each of the fifty organizations; every respondent rated his own and all other organizations. If the majority of respondents indicated an organization was always effective or usually effective, for purposes of the study, that organization was considered effective or successful in its influence on educational policy.

The Sample

Since the problem was to test theoretical concepts and not to describe, no attempt was made to obtain a representative sample.[2] The educational sample consisted of five school board members (three responded), thirteen central-office administrators (twelve responded), twenty-nine secondary school principals (twenty-eight responded), and seven teachers. In other words, 60 per cent of the school board, 92 per cent of the administration, and 94 per cent of the principals completed the interview. Teachers were not specifically sampled since they are not normally involved in educational policy-making.[3] However, four representatives from different educational associations were interviewed.

An attempt was made to interview each of the fifty pressure groups on the list. Forty-two of the pressure groups responded, giving 84 per cent return. Seven organizations provided two interviews, making a total of forty-nine completed interviews. In addition, eight civic-club leaders were interviewed. A breakdown of specific groupings, which was used in the analysis, is as follows:

Number of Respondents	Group Classification
15	Special Interest Groups
13	Business Groups
4	Churches
10	Governmental Interests
8	Civic Clubs
2	Women's Clubs
4	Educational Interests
56* Total	

*Fifty-six pressure group respondents were interviewed. However, only forty-nine respondents completed the interview sufficiently enough to be included in the statistical analyses.

The interviews were unsuccessful in their attempts to make appointments with representatives of the press and labor, and only partially successful in contacting minority groups and women's organizations. They gave various reasons for not submitting to the request, but since they did not respond to the interview, they will not be included in any of the analyses.

The Interview Program

A letter of introduction was sent to the various interest group leaders prior to any personal contact by the research staff. (See Appendix VII). This letter alerted the leaders to the nature and objectives of the study, as well as to the sponsoring organizations.

Six graduate students were trained as interviewers and acquainted with the instruments which formed the basis for the study. (See Appendixes II, III, IV, V, and VI). The names and addresses of the pressure group and educational leaders were distributed to the interviewers, they proceeded to contact the individuals, and attempted to complete the schedule.

The responses to the questionnaire-interview schedules were coded for machine tabulation, transferred to data cards, and the deck prepared for an IBM 360 computer.

The Analysis

The initial simple tabulations of the interview responses were useful in noting general effectiveness, trends, and attitudes. The interval data, the attitude ratings, were analyzed by a factor analysis which condensed the variables into a manageable few. [4] The correlation coefficients indicated clusters of interactions which helped to explain the difference in attitude by the pressure group and educational group respondents.

Following the above procedure, a chart was prepared, summarizing the data. The critical-situation measures did not lend themselves to be analyzed with parametric statistics since they were categorical. A chi-square statistic was used to determine whether effective or ineffective groups are interested in the same kinds of issues. [5] In the areas of "channels of communication" and "strategy", three experts on the educational and political scene in New Mexico determined the "correctness" of the responses.

As indicated by the answers to the questionnaire-interview schedules, a summated scale of positive and negative responses was obtained for each variable and recorded for machine tabulation. [6] The raw scores were transferred to standard scores and a one-way analysis of variance was run, contrasting the effective and ineffective pressure group responses for each variable. [7] The correlation coefficients helped to explain some of the findings on each of the seven variables. To determine whether this kind of analysis is a viable means of predicting effectiveness and ineffectiveness among pressure groups, the dichotomy was tested by a multiple discriminate analysis, using the seven variables as the predicting criteria.[8]

The literature reviewed in the previous chapters indicates that educational personnel and persons from the community differ in their perceptions on many issues. Therefore, two samples were used: One sample was the pressure group perception of organizations which were effective or ineffective in their influence on educational policy; The second sample was the educator's perception of effective and ineffective organizations. Each of the statistical measures were separately performed for both the pressure group and educational group samples. Throughout the study the .05 level of probability was used to determine a significant relationship among the variables or groups.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Three common measures were included in the leadership, channels of communication, and strategy variables. The common items were questions 5, 7, and 9 on the questionnaire. (Appendix II) Because of the exploratory nature of the study, it was not known which of the items or variables accounted for differences between effective and ineffective pressure groups. Consequently, these measures were used for each of the three variables. This procedure was expected to account for some of the correlation coefficients between the variables, however, it was also useful for the purpose of the research.

[2] For justification of the sampling of the study, Hans Zetterberg has pointed out: "non representative samples apparently are not significantly inferior to representative samples when we want to disprove a theoretical hypothesis. This relatively minor importance of representativeness in verification studies is in sharp contrast to the overwhelming importance of representativeness of samples in descriptive studies." Hans L. Zetterberg, _On Theory and Verification in Sociology_ (3rd ed.: New York: The Bedminister Press, 1965), pp. 129-130.

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[4] A discussion on the uses of a factor analysis is found in: Bernard S. Phillips, _Social Research: Strategy and Tactics_ (New York: Macmillan Co., 1966), pp. 171-174.

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[6] For a discussion on summated ratings see: Phillips, _op. cit._, pp. 182-184.

[7] For justification of the use of analysis of variance on ordinal data Lindquist has found: "The results of the Norton study should be extremely gratifying to anyone who has used or who contemplates using the F-test of analysis of variance in experimental situations in which there are serious doubts about the underlying assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance. . . . In general, the F-distribution seems so insensitive to the form of the distribution of criterion measure that it hardly seems worthwhile to apply any statistical test to the data to detect non-normality, even though such tests are available. Unless the departure from normality is so extreme that it can be easily detected by mere inspection of the data, the departure from normality will probably have no appreciable effect on the validity of the F-test, and the probabilities read from the F-table may be used as close approximations to the true probabilities." "The Norton Study," in E. F. Lindquist, Design and Analysis of Experiments in Psychology and Education (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1956), p. 86.

[8] For a description of the multiple discriminate analysis see: James E. Wert, Charles O. Neidt, and J. Stanley Ahmann, Statistical Methods in Educational and Psychological Research (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), pp. 263-271.

CHAPTER IV

HYPOTHESES

The research has specified eight variables which seem to determine whether or not an organization will be able to bring about change in educational policy. In the previous chapter an attempt was made to develop a procedure to measure these variables. The testing of the hypotheses is the topic of this section, while the discussion and implications of the findings are considered in the final chapter.

The critical situation variable was operationalized by the following hypothesis:

> 1. There will be no significant difference, as measured by the chi-square test, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the types of issues which stimulate action.

An initial attempt to test the other hypotheses by applying a chi-square statistic to each of the indivudual measures, using effectiveness as the dependent variable, resulted in no significant difference at the .05 level of probability. Apparently, each single item did not discriminate between the effective and ineffective pressure groups. To determine whether a cumulative effect was in operation, the measures for the separate variables were summed and an analysis of variance was employed. This implies the rejection of the null hypothesis since the statistic will show whether a difference exists between the two groups. To operationalize the directional hypotheses, mentioned in the previous chapter, the following hypotheses will underly the analysis:

2. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the quality of their leadership.

3. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the prestige they have in the community.

4. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the control they have over economic goods in the community.

5. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the channels of communication they have with local, state, and/or national leaders.

6. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the shared goals and attitudes they have within the community.

7. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of their internal solidarity.

8. There will be no significant difference, as measured by analysis of variance, between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of their strategy.

Having stated the null hypotheses, the ensuing analyses will infer from the statistics and means the validity of the substantive hypotheses.

The Critical Situation of the Group

> Hypothesis 1: There will be no significant difference between successful and unsuccessful interest groups in terms of the types of issues which stimulate action.

In order to test this null hypothesis, questions were asked about the type of issues that the respondents felt were important to the organizations in the sample. Table 1 shows the issues of particular interest to the effective or ineffective pressure groups. It should be noted that 20 percentage points separate the effective and ineffective pressure groups in the area of finances and 15 percentage points in the area of instruction. The effective

TABLE 1 -- Percentage distribution of issues which was reported as most important to the organization, by effectiveness

Issue	Effective Group	Ineffective Group
Curricular	17%	20%
Instruction	2	17
Teacher Professionalism	8	13
Broad Educational Policy	13	10
Financial	60	40
	100% (N = 48)*	100% (N = 90)*

$x^2 = 9.55$, 4 d.f., $p < .05$

*Multiple responses included in totals.

groups are more interested in the financial issues and less interested in instructional or teacher professional issues than the ineffective pressure groups. It appears, from our data, there is a significant difference in the type of issues which effective and ineffective pressure groups think are important. Therefore, the null hypothesis must be rejected.

The Leadership of the Group

> Hypothesis 2: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on the quality of leadership than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

An investigation of the relationship of the organization's leadership to its effectiveness does not indicate a clear conclusion. Following an analysis of variance, comparing effective and ineffective groups with the leadership variable, neither the pressure group sample nor the educator sample showed a significant relationship (see Tables 2 and 3, pages 75-76). The .05 level of probability was approached by the pressure group sample but was not at the acceptable level. A comparison of the means showed a definite inclination in the direction of leadership affecting the effectiveness of the organization. The hypothesis, therefore, cannot be confirmed, though there is a trend in the direction of the quality of leadership influencing a group's effectiveness.

TABLE 2 -- Analysis of variance results for critical pressure group variables, by pressure group sample***

Variable	Source of Variation	d.f.	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F ratio
Leadership of Group	Effectiveness	1	38.9	38.87	3.23
	Within	47	566.1	12.05	
	Total	48	605.0		
Prestige of Group	Effectiveness	1	10.6	10.58	4.64*
	Within	47	107.3	2.28	
	Total	48	117.8		
Economic Control of Group	Effectiveness	1	15.8	15.80	1.56
	Within	47	477.5	10.16	
	Total	48	493.3		
Channels of Communication of Group	Effectiveness	1	39.4	39.43	5.22*
	Within	47	354.8	7.55	
	Total	48	394.2		
Shared Attitudes of Group	Effectiveness	1	32.9	32.92	3.39
	Within	47	456.2	9.71	
	Total	48	489.1		
Solidarity of Group	Effectiveness	1	0.5	.46	0.04
	Within	47	607.8	12.93	
	Total	48	608.2		
Strategy of Group	Effectiveness	1	139.0	139.00	9.70**
	Within	47	673.4	14.33	
	Total	48	812.4		

*4.05 = $p \leqq .05$
**7.19 = $p \leqq .01$
*** See Appendix VIII for computer printout.

TABLE 3 -- Analysis of variance results for critical pressure group variables, by educational group sample***

Variable	Source of Variation	d.f.	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F ratio
Leadership of Group	Effectiveness	1	13.6	13.61	1.07
	Within	46	587.4	12.77	
	Total	47	601.0		
Prestige of Group	Effectiveness	1	6.8	6.81	2.98
	Within	46	105.1	2.29	
	Total	47	111.9		
Economic Control of Group	Effectiveness	1	16.2	16.20	1.64
	Within	46	453.5	9.86	
	Total	47	469.7		
Channels of Communication of Group	Effectiveness	1	57.2	57.23	7.87**
	Within	46	334.7	7.28	
	Total	47	392.0		
Shared Attitudes of Group	Effectiveness	1	38.7	38.73	4.01
	Within	46	444.7	9.67	
	Total	47	483.5		
Solidarity of Group	Effectiveness	1	13.9	13.92	0.00
	Within	46	595.8	12.95	
	Total	47	595.8		
Strategy of Group	Effectiveness	1	153.1	153.10	10.80**
	Within	46	651.4	14.17	
	Total	47	805.0		

*4.05 = $p \leq .05$
**7.21 = $p \leq .01$
*** See Appendix IX for computer printout.

The Prestige of the Group

> Hypothesis 3: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on prestige within the community than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

An examination of the prestige variable shows that the pressure group respondents indicated a significant relationship between prestige in the community and effectiveness (see Tables 2 and 3, pages 75-76). The educational respondents did not note this variable as important, but the pressure group sample did. However, a comparison of the effective group and ineffective group means show a tendency in the same direction. Table 4, page 78 relates that 23 per cent of the interest group leaders and 17 per cent of the educators felt that prestige was important to a group's success. A conclusion, though not significant for the educational sample, may be tentatively accepted: the prestige of an interest group has some bearing on its success in influencing educational policy.

The Economic Control of the Group

> Hypothesis 4: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on the control over economic goods in the community than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

Tables 2 and 3, pages 75-76 show that neither pressure group leaders nor educational group leaders indicated a significant relationship between the economic control

TABLE 4 -- Percentage distribution, by pressure group and educational respondents to the question "In your opinion, what makes an organization effective in changing policy in the school system?"

Pressure Group Responses		Educational Group Responses	
Group Structure:		Group Structure:	
Size of Group	39%	Sincerity	29%
Quality of leadership	27	Size of group	26
Prestige	23	Prestige	17
Financial ability	11	Quality of leadership	14
	100%	Organizational "structure"	11
	(N 26)*	Broad ethnic base	3
			100%
			(N 35)*
Group Activity:		Group Activity:	
Personal Communication with:		Thorough research (overall viewpoint)	25%
State educational leaders or legislators	16%	Presentation (approach, logic, workable plan)	22
School board	12	Personal Communication with:	
Other organizations	15	The "right" people	13
Superintendent	4	School board	8
School administrators	1	Other organizations	1
Influential leaders	1	Mobilize public support through mass media	17
Publicity (Noise)	17	Realistic or worthwhile demands	7
Thorough research	9	Use "proper" channels	3
Presentation (logic, quality)	8	Persistance	2
Set up meetings	5	Hold meetings	1
Use "proper" channels	4	Court Challenges	1
Act as a unit	4		100%
Influence elections	2		(N 88)*
Persistance	2		
Write letters	1		
Work through political parties	1		
Work through committees	1		
Work through one representative	1		
Past record of accomplishments	1		
	100%		
	(N 147)*		

* Multiple responses included in totals

variable and the organization's ability to influence educational policy. Upon comparing the means, one finds a small leaning toward economic ability influencing effectiveness, but it is not large enough to draw any definite conclusions. Only 11 per cent of the pressure group respondents mentioned financial resources as being important in its effectiveness, while none of the educators mentioned this variable (Table 4, page 78). On the basis of this analysis, the control over economic goods in the community does not play a significant role in an organization's ability to influence educational policy.

The Channels of Communication of the Group

> Hypothesis 5: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on the channels of communication with local, state, and/or national leaders than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

The data, presented in Tables 2 and 3, pages 75-76, indicate a significant relationship between the freedom of communication between the organization and the decision-makers and the group's ability to influence education. Both the pressure group sample and the educational sample relate this variable with effectiveness. Forty-nine per cent of the pressure group responses and 22 per cent of the educational responses observed that effective groups contact persons who can benefit their cause (see Table 4, page 78).

Therefore, the statistical influence warrants the conclusion that the channels of communication do affect a group's ability to influence educational policy.

The Goals and Attitudes of the Group

> Hypothesis 6: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly higher mean score on the shared goals and the attitudes within the community then interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

An analysis of variance relating shared attitudes with effectiveness showed a strong bias toward significance, but it did not reach the .05 probability level (see Tables 2 and 3, pages 75-76). This trend was noted in both the pressure group and educational group sample. A comparison of the means indicated that effective groups tend to have more common attitudes with the community than ineffective groups. A more complete discussion of the nature of these attitudes follows in Chapter V. As to the disposition of the hypothesis, the conclusion is: Though there is a trend toward a relationship, the research found no significant relationship between shared attitudes and the success of the organization in influencing educational policy.

The Solidarity of the Group

> Hypothesis 7: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on internal solidarity than interest groups which are seen as being unsuccessful.

Pressure group responses to open-ended questions on group effectiveness showed that "acting as a unit" (4%) and "size of the organization" (39%) was important to its effectiveness. Educators responded that the "organizational structure" (11%) and "size of the organization" (26%) was important (see Table 4, page 78). To reiterate a previous finding, size tends to limit the amount of cohesion a group exhibits.

The statistical measures of solidarity gave little or no evidence that this variable was important in effectiveness (see Tables 2 and 3, pages 75-76). A further comparison of the means of the pressure group sample and educational sample showed little direction. People are aware of group solidarity, but the weight of evidence does not confirm that this variable is operative in a group's ability to influence educational policy.

The Strategy of the Group

> Hypothesis 8: Interest groups which are seen as being successful in influencing educational policy will have a significantly lower mean score on strategy than interest groups which are seen as being unseccessful.

The most significant variable, as tested by the analysis of variance statistic, is the strategy which the group used to evoke educational change. Both the pressure group leaders and the educational personnel have demonstrated to the .01 level of probability that the proper strategy accounts for a group's success. By way of contrast, if the groups employ an improper strategy and the probability is also .01, they will not succeed. The various tactics which seem most effective should be noted by analyzing Table 4, page 78 which is discussed in detail in Chapter V. At this time, it suffices to affirm that the hypothesis seems plausible: There is a strong relationship between the strategy a group employs and its ability to influence educational policy.

The Predictability of the Instruments

Part of the research problem was to predict a dichotomy (effective versus ineffective) from the eight variables discussed above. A multiple discriminate analysis was the most appropriate statistic for this analysis. The results are found in Tables 5, pages 83-84 and 6, pages 85-86. The statistical significance for the pressure group and educational group samples were above the .01 level. Also, it should be noted that the pressure group sample correctly chose ten out of twelve effective organizations and twenty-nine out of thirty-seven ineffective organizations. The educational sample correctly predicted thirteen out of nineteen effective organizations and twenty-three out of thirty ineffective organizations. In other words, the questionnaire-interview schedules were 80 per cent successful in predicting effective and ineffective pressure groups among the pressure group sample, and 77 per cent successful with the educational sample.

TABLE 5 -- Multiple discriminate analysis results of the pressure group sample, by effectiveness*

Observation	Probability Associated With Largest Discriminant Function	Largest Function No.
Effective Group		
1	0.85338	1
2	0.91046	1
3	0.86217	1
4	0.79963	1
5	0.91197	1
6	0.98356	1
7	0.57251	1
8	0.53485	2
9	0.77868	2
10	0.64897	1
11	0.84149	1
12	0.73353	1
Ineffective Group		
1	0.67931	2
2	0.96063	2
3	0.55097	1
4	0.59099	2
5	0.95674	2
6	0.88644	1
7	0.61162	2
8	0.56580	2
9	0.98927	2
10	0.91403	2
11	0.93704	2
12	0.82772	2
13	0.88739	2
14	0.88031	1
15	0.59611	2
16	0.91269	2
17	0.63092	1
18	0.92714	2
19	0.59269	1
20	0.59269	1
21	0.90990	2
22	0.98726	2
23	0.71514	1

TABLE 5 -- Continued

Observation	Probability Associated With Largest Discriminant Function	Largest Function No.
Ineffective Group		
24	0.53182	2
25	0.92026	2
26	0.97112	2
27	0.79576	2
28	0.93002	2
29	0.59193	2
30	0.86097	2
31	0.81375	1
32	0.98035	2
33	0.59640	2
34	0.85898	2
35	0.90613	2
36	0.70662	2
37	0.90441	2

$D = 24.041$, $p < .01$
*See Appendix X for computer printout

TABLE 6 -- Multiple discriminate analysis results of the educational group sample, by effectiveness*

Observation	Probability Associated With Largest Discriminant Function	Largest Function No.
Effective Group		
1	0.72760	1
2	0.76453	1
3	0.88059	1
4	0.89116	1
5	0.88076	1
6	0.70256	1
7	0.62937	2
8	0.84708	1
9	0.89802	1
10	0.53161	2
11	0.97762	1
12	0.81153	1
13	0.56652	1
14	0.78764	2
15	0.52152	1
16	0.84017	1
17	0.92646	2
18	0.93366	1
19	0.54543	1
Ineffective Group		
1	0.77392	2
2	0.54951	2
3	0.92236	2
4	0.83921	2
5	0.70883	2
6	0.53128	1
7	0.52165	1
8	0.96056	2
9	0.71643	1
10	0.90778	2
11	0.93714	2
12	0.53793	2
13	0.76636	2
14	0.56891	2
15	0.74167	1
16	0.74691	2

TABLE 6 -- Continued

Observation	Probability Associated With Largest Discriminant Function	Largest Function No.
Ineffective Group		
17	0.59207	2
18	0.92497	2
19	0.61845	1
20	0.74313	2
21	0.95155	2
22	0.79338	1
23	0.76116	2
24	0.58669	2
25	0.70249	2
26	0.71598	2
27	0.54951	2
28	0.98592	2
29	0.56409	1
30	0.83606	2

$D = 22.755$, $p < .01$
*See Appendix XI for computer printout.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

To conclude the study on pressure groups, the analyses and the implications for further research are discussed in this chapter. The model presented on page 52 is reviewed and evaluated. Attention is also paid to trends and qualifications of the theory.

A Discussion of the Model

The previous chapter revealed that effective and ineffective groups are essentially interested in different types of issues. Although financial issues were important to both groups, monetary matters are perceived as more important to effective organizations. Table 7 gives an indication of the types of groups which make up effective

TABLE 7 -- Percentage distribution of the group classification, by effectiveness

Group Classification	Effective Group	Ineffective Group
Special Interest Groups	13%	33%
Business Groups	31	20
Churches	0	10
Governmental Interests	43	7
Civic Clubs	0	20
Women's Clubs	0	5
Educational Interests	13	5
	100%	100%
	(N = 16)	(N = 40)

and ineffective organizations. One notices that business and governmental interests are over-represented among the effective sample. Raising taxes and revising the state financial program seem like natural concerns for businessmen and governmental officials. Since the ineffective groups represent a diversity of organizations, the variety of important issues is also much wider.

For general information purposes, an open-ended question was asked, "On what issues would you believe the Albuquerque Public Schools receive the most pressure?" (see Appendix II), and the responses were recorded in Table 8, page 89. There were many pressure group responses in areas of curriculum and services (sixty-six responses) and teacher professionalism (twenty-two responses) as well as finances (thirty-eight responses). Most educational personnel felt most of the pressure was in the curriculum and service areas (seventy-four responses), possibly because principals and administrators are most likely to be contacted in these matters. Further verification of this may be seen by the perceived amount of pressure exerted upon the educator in areas of student achievement, grades, discipline, and the community's economic problems (twenty-two responses).

The leadership within the organization is critical in the model used herein, but the hypothesis could not be confirmed. Though the pressure group sample showed a greater tendency

TABLE 8 -- Percentage distribution by pressure group and educational respondents to the question "On what issues would you believe the Albuquerque Public Schools receive the most pressure?"

Pressure Group Responses		Educational Group Responses	
Finance:		Finance:	
Salaries	42%	General	91%
General	34	Aid to Parochial Schools	9
Taxes	24		
	100%		100%
	(N = 38)*		(N = 11)*
Teacher Professionalism:		Teacher Professionalism:	
Strikes and Attitudes	58%	Strikes and Militancy	56%
Quality of Teachers	23	Hiring/Firing	28
Pupil-Teacher Ratio	15	Pupil-Teacher Ratio	16
Tenure	4		
	100%		100%
	(N = 26)*		(N = 18)*
Curriculum and Services:		Curriculum and Services:	
General Course Content	24%	General Course Content	22%
Discrimination and Bilingual Education	24	Textbook Content	13
Facilities and Materials	16	Free Lunches	13
Vocational Education	12	Facilities	13
Kindergartens	12	Kindergartens	8
Textbook Content	6	Athletics	5
Accreditation	6	Bilingual Education	5
		Counseling Service	4
		Vocational Education	4
		Educational Park	2
		Special Education	2
		Religion	2
		Pupil Demands	2
		Other	5
	100%		100%
	(N = 66)*		(N = 74)*
General:		General:	
Pupil Discipline	33%	Achievement and Grades	36%
School's Official Position on Issues	33	Discipline and Personal Problems	36
School Board not Responsive	23	Community's Economic Problems	28
No Local Control	11		
	100%		100%
	(N = 19)*		(N = 22)*

*Multiple responses included in totals

to relate leadership to effectiveness, the educational sample did not.

The intercorrelations of the leadership variable did show that leadership was related to the channels of communication at the .01 level of probability [1] (see Tables 9, pages 91-92, and 10, pages 93-94). Since normally it is the leaders who contact influential decision-makers in the community, this strong affinity for one another is understandable. In addition, educators significantly link leadership with the strategy variable. The pressure group sample also shows a strong leaning in this direction. The reasoning seems to be that the leaders are the ones who carry out the strategy, part of which is productive communication with local and state officials. The educational sample indicates that effective group leaders are responsible for the group's economic control in the community and ineffective group leaders are responsible for the lack of group solidarity.

The prestige variable has several interactions. Previously it was noted that the pressure group sample felt prestige was significantly related to effectiveness, while the educational sample showed no such relationship. However, the correlation matrix shows a strong connection of prestige with the lack of economic control in the community among the ineffective pressure groups (both samples

TABLE 9 -- Correlation coefficients for critical pressure group variables of the pressure group sample, by effectiveness

	Effective Pressure Groups						
	Leadership of the Group	Prestige of the Group	Economics of the Group	Channels of Communication of the Group	Attitudes of the Group	Solidarity of the Group	Strategy of the Group
Leadership of the Group	1.000						
Prestige of the Group	.063	1.000					
Economics of the Group	.385	.502	1.000				
Channels of Communication of the Group	.727**	-.018	.207	1.000			
Attitudes of the Group	.246	.137	-.012	-.034	1.000		
Solidarity of the Group	-.137	-.571	-.655*	-.059	-.090	1.000	
Strategy of the Group	.568	.088	.791**	.562	-.178	-.239	1.000

* f = 12 d.f., .576 $p \leq .05$
** f = 12 d.f., .708 $p \leq .01$

TABLE 9 -- Continued

	Ineffective Pressure Groups						
	Leadership of the Group	Prestige of the Group	Economics of the Group	Channels of Communication of the Group	Attitudes of the Group	Solidarity of the Group	Strategy of the Group
Leadership of the Group	1.000						
Prestige of the Group	.210	1.000					
Economics of the Group	.071	.537**	1.000				
Channels of Communication of the Group	.496**	-.117	.033	1.000			
Attitudes of the Group	.060	-.011	-.005	.235	1.000		
Solidarity of the Group	-.264	.221	-.117	.242	.144	1.000	
Strategy of the Group	.189	-.274	.243	.520**	-.264	-.216	1.000

* f = 33 d.f., .344 p $\leq$.05

** f = 33 d.f., .442 p $\leq$.01

TABLE 10 -- Correlation coefficients for critical pressure group variables of the educational group sample, by effectiveness

	Effective Pressure Groups						
	Leadership of the Group	Prestige of the Group	Economics of the Group	Channels of Communication of the Group	Attitudes of the Group	Solidarity of the Group	Strategy of the Group
Leadership of the Group	1.000						
Prestige of the Group	.295	1.000					
Economics of the Group	.459	.525*	1.000				
Channels of Communication of the Group	.658**	.124	.326	1.000			
Attitudes of the Group	.046	-.026	-.191	-.183	1.000		
Solidarity of the Group	-.057	-.387	-.554*	-.071	-.079	1.000	
Strategy of the Group	.545*	.061	.754**	.554*	-.374	-.203	1.000

* f = 17 d.f., .482 $p \leq .05$
** f = 17 d.f., .606 $p \leq .01$

TABLE 10 -- Continued

	Ineffective Pressure Groups						
	Leadership of the Group	Prestige of the Group	Economics of the Group	Channels of Communication of the Group	Attitudes of the Group	Solidarity of the Group	Strategy of the Group
Leadership of the Group	1.000						
Prestige of the Group	.154	1.000					
Economics of the Group	.020	.555**	1.000				
Channels of Communication of the Group	.531**	-.194	-.029	1.000			
Attitudes of the Group	.082	.020	.075	.349	1.000		
Solidarity of the Group	-.332	.230	-.140	-.292	.190	1.000	
Strategy of the Group	.192	-.268	.198	.499**	-.175	-.277	1.000

* f = 28 d.f., .374 p $\leq$ .05
** f = 28 d.f., .478 p $\leq$ .01

were .01). The educational sample showed a probability of .05 with the effective groups and economic control. The pressure group sample showed a definite tendency in the same direction, though it was not statistically significant. Obviously, the present data indicates some relationship between prestige and economic control in the community. Both the pressure group and the educational sample indicated: 1) a large negative correlation of prestige with group solidarity with the effective pressure groups, and 2) a large positive correlation with the ineffective groups. Since these findings are statistically insignificant, a definite conclusion cannot be drawn.

The economic control variable is a curious mixture of interaction. There was no indication that it affected success in educational policy-making. However, the interaction may be seen by the fact that the two samples correlated economic control for effective groups with group strategy at the .01 level. Group solidarity was correlated with the economic variable at a negative .05 level for the effective groups. Prestige was also found to have some relationship to economic control, especially among ineffective pressure groups. Though not statistically valid, the leadership and channels of communication variables seemed to have an influence on economic control when one examined the effective organizations.

Channels of communication with local and state officials were a significant variable in determining effectiveness as judged by both the pressure group and educational group samples. The importance of leadership with this variable may be seen by the .01 correlation coefficient for effective groups among both samples, and the lack of leadership accounting for ineffective groups. [2] The channel of communication and strategy variables yield at least a .05 probability level among the ineffective groups in both samples, and it yields the same significance level by the educational sample. [3] The pressure group sample had a tendency in the same direction, though falling short of the acceptable level. The ineffective groups tended to show relationships between channels of communication, shared attitudes, and group solidarity, but because these tendencies were not at the acceptable probability level, the results were inconclusive.

The sharing of attitudes with the larger community does not seem to have much influence for either effective or ineffective groups. Though the correlation coefficients show direction toward interaction with channels of communication and strategy, especially among the ineffective groups, the probability limit was not obtained. A conclusion may be drawn: This variable is not critical in the analysis of effectiveness for the various organizations, whether or not politicians, relying upon intuition, would agree.

The role of group cohesion in effectiveness is questionable. However, there was found a significant relationship between group solidarity and economic control within the community; both the pressure group sample and educational group sample indicated this finding. There was some interaction of solidarity with leadership, prestige, and strategy, though none of these variables achieved the lower limit of significant correlation.

In the previous chapter, it was observed that the most outstanding predictor of success in influencing educational policy is the strategy the organization uses to achieve its ends. The interactions of the organization's strategy on the other variables give further evidence to support this finding. The effective groups in both samples show that economic control and strategy are correlated at the .01 level of significance. The educational sample indicated that leadership and the channels of communication with policy-makers by the effective organizations were related at the .05 level. The pressure group sample also indicated, though not significantly, that leadership and channels of communication tend to be related with the strategy the group used. Both the pressure group and educational samples showed that ineffective groups had a significant interaction between strategy and the channels of communication. Ineffective groups had a disposition toward relating strategy with prestige, economic control, shared attitudes, and group solidarity, though not at the acceptable level.

In order to discover the tactics which are enacted, two questions were asked of both the pressure group leaders and educational personnel. The pressure group leaders were asked, "In what ways have different organizations sought to influence education in Albuquerque?" and "If your organization felt that there was a specific educational issue which MUST be changed, what would be the most successful way of getting the change enacted?" (see Appendix III). The educational sample was asked, "In what ways have different educational-pressure groups sought to influence your decisions?" and "In your opinion, what makes any group effective in influencing educational decisions?" (see Appendix VI). The results are tabulated in Table 11, page 99. Further data may be obtained by referring to Table 4, page 78.

The pressure group respondents tend to favor the hard-sell approach to achieve their goals. The types of pressure they most often use are rewards, threats, and legitimate authority. To achieve success, they would tend to resort to public support by using publicity, influencing votes, holding meetings, relying on emotional appeals, and resorting to economic means. Pressure group leaders feel they would prefer to contact state level administrators,

TABLE 11 -- Percentage distribution of the perceived kinds of pressure and strategy, by pressure group and educational group respondents

Pressure Group Responses		Educational Group Responses	
Kinds of Pressure Used:		Kinds of Pressure Experienced:	
Rewards or threats	31%	Legitimate authority	32%
Legitimate authority	30	Appeal to right or wrong	26
Different point of view	28	Rewards or threats	24
Appeal to right or wrong	11	Different point of view	18
	100%		100%
	(N = 62)*		(N = 50)*
Strategy Used:		Strategy Experienced:	
Publicity	29%	Personal Representation	62%
Lobby at State level	21	Small committees	13
Influence votes	13	Emotional appeals	13
Emotional appeals	13	CEO court challenge	6
Economic pressure	8	Formal negotiations	6
Quality appeal	8		
Censorship	4		
Hold meetings	4		
	100%		100%
	(N = 48)*		(N = 32)*

* Multiple responses included in totals

the school board, and other organizations in developing their tactics.

By way of contrast, educational respondents felt pressure when groups appealed to legitimate authorities and used moralistic arguments. They most often had a personal confrontation by the pressure group representative. Educators felt the sincerity of the organization, researching the subject thoroughly enough to accomodate the over-all point-of-view, and presenting logical and reasonable arguments were the most important ingredients for success. Communication with the "right" people was not as important to educators as it was to the pressure group respondents.

As these data indicate, there is a difference in emphasis between the two samples in their perceived concept of what constitutes effective strategy. The following section will elaborate on these perceptual differences from an analysis of attitudes toward various aspects of education.

A Discussion of Perceptions

As the analysis progressed, it became evident there are subtle differences in perceptions and attitudes manifested by the pressure group sample and the educational group sample. The factor analysis, if closely inspected, will help the reader to understand these differences (see Table 12, page 101). The analysis determined eleven factors for the pressure group sample and thirteen factors among the educational sample.

For the pressure group sample, the primary consideration was the use of money as applied to the professional aspects of education. The respondents wanted more federal and state money to be used for lowering the student-teacher ratio and adding new courses or services. However, through economic control, the respondents wanted to determine what was to be taught. They were wary of teachers developing

TABLE 12 -- Results of a factor analysis of attitudes toward educational issues, by pressure group and educational group samples*

Factor Identification for Pressure Group Sample

1. Finances as they apply to the economic control of professional aspects of education.
2. Professional practices of education.
3. Curriculum content in vocational education.
4. Expanding school programs to include kindergartens.
5. Expanding school programs to include teacher aides and special education.
6. Controlling education from outside the professional educational sphere.
7. Quality of student preparation.
8. Programming the curriculum by adding teacher quality and kindergartens.
9. School board's responsibility to the public.
10. Professional rights of teachers.
11. Having a twelve month school year.

Factor Identification for Educational Sample

1. Distribution of finances to improve education.
2. Quality of student preparation.
3. Professional rights of teachers and concern over accreditation.
4. Curriculum development by the professional educators.
5. Financial assistance for program development.
6. School board is functioning properly, but desires kindergartens.
7. Professional rights of teachers.
8. Pressures which educators can exert to influence education.
9. Teacher status, salaries, and the possible loss of accreditation.
10. Vocational education.
11. Financial assistance to improve the quality of education.
12. Class size and kindergartens.
13. Professional decision of teachers over vocational education and a twelve month school year.

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* See Appendix XII and XIII for rotated factor matrices.

the curriculum, controlling state certification boards, and National Education Association (NEA) sanctions. Further evidence, or support for this conclusion is gained by Factor 6, which indicated that the locus of the educational control should be outside the ranks of professional educators, and Factor 9, which stressed that the school board was to reflect the wishes and desires of the public.

The second factor, which the pressure group sample indicated was important, was the professional practices of educators. According to the respondents, teachers should not determine curriculum or control certification, and the NEA should not force communities to change through the use of sanctions. On the other hand, they were aware that the importance of accreditation probably depends upon more money for school supplies and the lowering of the pupil-teacher ratio. With the support of Factor 6, national assessment of the pupil's progress was felt as being beneficial for the school system. Factors 2, 8, and 10 suggested: 1) the right of teachers to strike, 2) that no discipline should be given to striking teachers, 3) that teachers should not be expected to hold summer jobs, and 4) that teachers are not paid what they are worth. Apparently, these attitudes were felt to be in support of a better school system.

In this same context, the third major factor by the pressure group sample was the curricular content of the school system. Factor 3 shows the importance for training students in vocational and academic subjects. Factor 7 specifically indicates a concern for the quality of student preparation for college and student preparation for making a living, which the respondents felt was not adequate at this time. Factors 4 and 8 indicate the need for the educational system to expand to include kindergartens, and Factor 5 indicates a desire to include more special education and the use of paraprofessional teacher aides. Lastly, the eleventh factor indicates that a twelve month school year would be a beneficial change for the school system.

Comparing the pressure group responses with the educational group responses, one finds that the educators also placed a strong emphasis on financial matters. However, they were more interested in the distribution of funds. They wanted more federal and state monies, but they were more concerned about how the money would be spent. More money should be expended for books, supplies, special education, and vocational education. Lending more weight to this is Factor 10, specifying that money is needed for vocational courses. Factors 5, 6, and 12 clustered around the need for money to lower the class size and the need to initiate kindergartens in the community.

Closely related to the emphasis on financial matters was the second factor which indicated concern for the preparation of students. More stress on intellectual, traditional subjects (e.g., foreign languages, literature, chemistry, physics, and geometry) was needed to better prepare students for college and to better prepare them for making a living. A great concern over the possible loss of accreditation was reinforced by the strong indication furnished by Factors 3 and 9. The use of teacher aides was favorably endorsed by the educators as was the right of teachers to go on strike.

The professional aspects of teaching were indicated by the fourth factor. Variables which interacted with this factor were 1) the necessity of teachers to hold summer jobs, 2) the control of certification boards, 3) the development of curriculum, 4) the teacher's right to strike, and 5) the discipline of teachers who strike. These same issues were the most essential ingredients in Factors 7, 8, 9, and 13.

Generally speaking, the pressure group and educational group respondents agreed on a greater need for 1) more money from state and federal sources, 2) better courses in the college preparatory and vocational areas, 3) more supplies and books, 4) an educational park which would benefit the community, 5) kindergartens to prepare children for primary grades, 6) more specialized functions that would be handled by the schools, 7) higher salaries for teachers, and 8) the teacher's right to strike. Both samples felt that educators should not control state certification of teachers, and both samples were concerned about the possible loss of accreditation.

Points of disagreement arose when the educational leaders responded that they felt the present educational system was doing a good job of preparing the young for both college and for making a living. The pressure group respondents indicated that the schools were not doing either job well. The pressure group sample was for a twelve month school year; it indicated a national assessment program was beneficial. Educators disagreed on both counts. The educational group said teachers should hold summer jobs (possibly because the educational sample was mostly administrators who worked eleven months) and the pressure group sample felt it would benefit the school system if teachers had the summer off to prepare themselves for the ensuing school year. The pressure group sample did not want teachers developing the curriculum, but the educational group sample felt this was a proper duty for professional educators.

There was further discrepancy between the two samples in their perceptions of the groups which were effective. Table 13, page 106, shows that the educational respondents perceived many more organizations as being effective than the pressure group sample did. A curious exception on the list is the Albuquerque Federation of Teachers. It was thought of by the pressure group sample as being effective, but the educational sample felt it was ineffective.

TABLE 13 -- Perceptual differences of the ability of selected organizations to influence educational policy, by pressure group and educational group respondents

Organization	Respondents - Perceptions Pressure Group	Educators
Albuquerque Federation of Teachers	Effective	Ineffective
Junior Chamber of Commerce	Ineffective	Effective
League of Women Voters	Ineffective	Effective
Model Cities	Ineffective	Effective
New Mexico Taxpayers Association	Ineffective	Effective
Office of Economic Opportunity	Ineffective	Effective
Office of Education (Federal)	Ineffective	Effective
City Police	Ineffective	Effective
Sandia Corporation	Ineffective	Effective
School Principal's Association	Ineffective	Effective

In summary, whether the educators know first-hand which group is actually influential, or whether they are highly sensitive to any group which attempts to influence some policy is not indicated by the data. A conclusion may be reached that there is indeed a difference in the perceptions of the pressure group sample and the educational group sample. Though they may both be interested in money matters, they have different perspectives and different reasons. The same explanation may be used in discussing their views on teacher professionalism, student achievement, and policy decisions.

Implications for Further Research

In many ways the experiment was both successful and unsuccessful. One of the first needs for future research would be to refine some of the items on the questionnaire-interview schedule. The different manipulations by the respondents of the fifty organizations -- rating effectiveness, prestige, and issue importance -- was tedious and may have caused a negative bias for the remainder of the interview.

The measures of leadership could be called into question due to the fact that they overlapped some of the measures for the channels of communication variables. Sorting out which are indeed leadership measures and which are communication measures may be a problem for later studies. The same problem is involved in the strategy variable and the channels of communication variable since some of the same items were used in the summated scales.

The various measures of solidarity and economic control within the community did not seem to gain the expected results. It would be interesting to research further to see if 1) the items were poorly constructed, 2) the items were not measuring the variables, and 3) the variables were not important to an organization's effectiveness. Other questions to explore may be the relative lack of correlation for shared attitudes and group solidarity with the other variables.

The project showed that there are certain issues which are common to different groups. However, it was beyond the scope of this study to uncover the different interactions and communication channels between these groups, though this question may prove fruitful for another investigation.

As other studies indicated, this project found there was a discrepancy between educators and the community when various attitudes and perceptions are involved. Most of the explanations seem to be of the "arm-chair" variety. More extensive research in this area may prove valuable in solving many of the problems of education.

Throughout the study, effectiveness was measured by the perceptions of which group was effective or ineffective by the 106 respondents to the interview. A more precise study on which group actually affects educational policy-making could be designed using Peter Odegard's or E. E. Schattachneider's techniques.

If the project has shown some validity, then replication of the study in other communities, using randomness to obtain representative results, would be in order. Using only the four variables which showed significant results -- e.g., 1) the critical situation, 2) prestige, 3) channels of communication, and 4) strategy -- one might see whether he can predict effectiveness. From the data, this list might even be limited to an elaboration of the strategy variable which includes some of the leadership, economic control, and channels of communication variables.

Implications for Educators

The implications for professional educators would seem to center upon whether a similar procedure would be implemented by the schools. It would seem that a questionnaire could be designed to find the types of groups which would be interested in financial matters. These groups, if they represent business interests, will probably be the most influential in formation of policy. A further refining of the questionnaire would give some indication as to the strategy the group would employ to obtain its goal. If the interest group has properly assessed the situation, developed appropriate strategy depending on the particular issue involved, and knows the persons who can cause the desired change, then it must be carried out by the educational administrators. Many of these variables may be obtained through a structured interview with the pressure group leader.

Another implication for educators would be to develop a closer sensitivity to the feelings of the community. From the data, it would indicate that the community would support innovations such as a reasonable approach to sex education, an educational park, a twelve month school year, and kindergartens. In some ways the larger community is more in favor of the professional rights of teachers by being 1) for the right of teachers to strike, 2) against reprimands for teacher strikes, 3) for higher teacher salaries, and 4) in favor of free summers for teachers. Seemingly, the community would be willing to pay for more supplies and materials to upgrade the educational process if it could be shown that more students were successful in college or more students were being better prepared for making a living. In a few of these areas the educational sample lagged behind the pressure group sample in professional matters. Some means should be devised for educators to become more attuned to the prevailing attitudes within the community. In systems theory language, the public schools should create an adaptive structure which would sense the changes which are desired and whether they would be met with acceptance or hostility.

Unfortunately, many questions are still unanswered: Are educators to reflect the desires of the community? Are the petitions of a pressure group representative of a community? What is the responsibility of the educational decision-maker to the vocal minority? Are educators, themselves, to lead in the innovative process? Are they to be the professionals who determine what is to be taught and how to teach it? What changes would be best for the students? If the community says it is in favor of certain changes, will it, in fact, support them when money and commitment are involved? Data presented in this research have not attempted to answer these philosophical questions. Answers to them are imperative if school systems are to continue to provide quality education for the ensuing generation.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Part of the correlation coefficient may be understood by the use of three common items in the summated scales for the leadership and channels of communication variables.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Part of the correlation coefficient may be understood by the use of three common items in the summated scales for the channels of communication and strategy variables.

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Albuquerque, New Mexico. Personal interviews were conducted with three school board members, twelve central-office administrators, twenty-eight secondary school principals, and seven teachers. February, 1969.

Albuquerque, New Mexico. Personal interviews were conducted with leaders and executive officers of fifty-six interest groups. February, 1969.

APPENDIX I

LETTER OF APPROVAL FROM ALBUQUERQUE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ALBUQUERQUE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

ROBERT L. CHISHOLM, SUPERINTENDENT
NOAH C. TURPEN, ASSOCIATE SUPERINTENDENT

724 MAPLE STREET, SE
P. O. BOX 1927
ZIP CODE 87103

July 15, 1968

Mr. Thomas J. Gustafson
College of Education
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Mr. Gustafson:

I enjoyed talking with you and Dr. Drage Watson this morning about your proposed research project concerning pressure groups interested in educational problems. Your patience in answering my questions about the project and its implementation is appreciated. Later in the day I read your abstract.

You are certainly considering a timely project which, if successfully culminated, should be helpful to Albuquerque Public Schools as well as other comparable districts. Central Office Administrators and selected principals will be available for interview as you proceed with the research.

Sincerely yours,

N.C. Turpen
Noah C. Turpen,
Acting Superintendent
NCT:j
cc: Dr. Robert L. Chisholm

APPENDIX II

PRESSURE GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS AND COMMENTS

A study, directed by Tom Gustafson and under the guidance of the College of Education of the University of New Mexico, is investigating the role of interest groups in educational decision-making.

The importance of this study may be seen by the letter from the Albuquerque Public Schools and by the fact that the United States Government has awarded a research grant for the completion of the project.

The interview will be in two parts. The first part will involve lists of local organizations and you will be asked to respond to them in various ways. There will also be several short items for you to answer. The second part will be a series of questions to be asked by the interviewer. If you do not understand the question or why an item is important, do not hesitate to ask the person conducting the interview.

Every effort will be made to keep your answers confidential. Your personal name will not appear in the study. The name of your organization will be given a coded number for research purposes. The data which will be gathered will be transferred to IBM cards for machine tabulation and the interview schedule will be destroyed. If you desire the results of the study, the interviewer will supply you with an envelope for your address and an abstract of the findings will be mailed to you at a later date.

The success of this study depends upon your cooperation.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Below is a list of organizations which have an interest in the Albuquerque Public Schools. Please check on the scale the rating you feel is appropriate to each group. If you do not know what rating is appropriate, do not check on the scale. In your view, how effective is each of these organizations in influencing local school policy?

Always Effective	Usually Effective	Not very Effective	Never Effective	Organization
1	2	3	4	AFL-CIO
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Baptist Association
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Council of Churches
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Federation of Teachers
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Journal
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Ministerial Alliance
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Tribune
1	2	3	4	Alianza
1	2	3	4	American Legion
1	2	3	4	American Medical Association
1	2	3	4	Chamber of Commerce
1	2	3	4	City Commissioners
1	2	3	4	City Manager
1	2	3	4	City Youth Council
1	2	3	4	Civil Liberties Union
1	2	3	4	Daughters of the American Revolution
1	2	3	4	Insurance Underwriters
1	2	3	4	Job Corps
1	2	3	4	John Birch Society
1	2	3	4	Junior Chamber of Commerce
1	2	3	4	Juvenile Department
1	2	3	4	Kirtland Air Force Base
1	2	3	4	League of United Latin American Citizens
1	2	3	4	League of Women Voters
1	2	3	4	Legislative Permanent Committee on School Study
1	2	3	4	Model Cities
1	2	3	4	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Cattle Growers Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Classroom Teacher's Assn., Albuquerque Classroom Teacher's Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Homebuilders Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Liquor Dealers
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Manufacturer's Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Municipal League
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Taxpayer's Assn.
1	2	3	4	Office of Economic Opportunity
1	2	3	4	Office of Education (Federal)
1	2	3	4	Planned Parenthood
1	2	3	4	Police
1	2	3	4	Priest's Senate
1	2	3	4	Parent Teacher's Association
1	2	3	4	Realtor's Association
1	2	3	4	Sandia Corporation
1	2	3	4	School Principal's Association
1	2	3	4	Southern Union Gas
1	2	3	4	State Department of Education
1	2	3	4	The Grass Roots Committee
1	2	3	4	University of Albuquerque
1	2	3	4	University of New Mexico
1	2	3	4	Urban League
1	2	3	4	Veterans of Foreign Wars

In your opinion, what is the prestige of each of these groups in the community? Record your response on the left-hand side of the list. If you do not know what response is appropriate, do not check on the scale.

Prestige				**Organization**	1	2	3
High			**Low**				
1	2	3	4	AFL-CIO			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Baptist Association			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Council of Churches			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Federation of Teachers			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Journal			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Ministerial Alliance			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Tribune			
1	2	3	4	Alianza			
1	2	3	4	American Legion			
1	2	3	4	American Medical Association			
1	2	3	4	Chamber of Commerce			
1	2	3	4	City Commissioners			
1	2	3	4	City Manager			
1	2	3	4	City Youth Council			
1	2	3	4	Civil Liberties Union			
1	2	3	4	Daughters of the American Revolution			
1	2	3	4	Insurance Underwriters			
1	2	3	4	Job Corps			
1	2	3	4	John Birch Society			
1	2	3	4	Junior Chamber of Commerce			
1	2	3	4	Juvenile Department			
1	2	3	4	Kirtland Air Force Base			
1	2	3	4	League of United Latin American Citizens			
1	2	3	4	League of Women Voters			
1	2	3	4	Legislative Permanent Committee on School Study			
1	2	3	4	Model Cities			
1	2	3	4	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People			
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Cattle Grower's Association			
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Classroom Teacher's Assn. Albuquerque Classroom Teacher's Assn.			
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Homebuilder's Association			
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1	2	3	4	New Mexico Manufacturer's Association			
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Municiple League			
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Taxpayer's Association			
1	2	3	4	Office of Economic Opportunity			
1	2	3	4	Office of Education (Federal)			
1	2	3	4	Planned Parenthood			
1	2	3	4	Police			
1	2	3	4	Priest's Senate			
1	2	3	4	Parent Teacher's Association			
1	2	3	4	Realtor's Association			
1	2	3	4	Sandia Corporation			
1	2	3	4	School Principal's Association			
1	2	3	4	Southern Union Gas			
1	2	3	4	State Office of Education			
1	2	3	4	The Grass Roots Committee			
1	2	3	4	University of Albuquerque			
1	2	3	4	University of New Mexico			
1	2	3	4	Urban League			
1	2	3	4	Veterans of Foreign Wars			

STOP: TELL THE INTERVIEWER YOU HAVE COMPLETED QUESTION TWO.

3. On the right-hand side of the above list are three numbers. Here is a card with current educational issues which have recently appeared in the news. In column number 1, place the letter of the issue you feel the organization would be most interested in. In column 2, place the second most important issue and do the same in column 3 for the third most important issue.

4. The letters in the columns below correspond to the letter beside the educational issues on the card. Using these issues, whom would your organization first contact to change an existing policy? Place a check in the lettered column beside the office or person you would first contact concerning the issue.

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	
										State Superintendent
										Albuquerque School Board
										Albuquerque Superintendent
										Central Office Administration
										Principals
										Teachers
										Other Organizations or Groups
										Influential Leaders in Albuquerque

5. If your organization wanted to change a financial policy in the schools (such as raising teacher salaries), name the people you know you could talk to who could help you out?

6. If your organization wanted to change the same financial policy, name the people you would try to talk to?

7. If your organization wanted to change a broad educational policy (such as initiating kindergartens through-out the city), name the people you know you could talk to who could help you out?

8. If your organization wanted to change the same broad educational policy, name the people you would try to talk to?

9. If your organization wanted to change what is being taught (such as the new math), name the people you know you could talk to to help you out?

10. If your organization wanted to change the same curricular subject, name the people you would try to talk to?

APPENDIX III

PRESSURE GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

It is also important to obtain a few facts concerning your organization. These answers will be kept strictly confidential.

11. What is the size of your organization? ______________________

12. Do you have a formal membership? YES____ NO____

13. Do you have specific membership prerequisites? YES_____ NO______

14. Was your chief executive officer:

Hired___Appointed___Elected___Volunteered___

15. Is your chief executive officer:

______Salaried full-time

______Salaried part-time

______Volunteered with a stipend

______Volunteered without stipend

16. Does your chief executive officer have another occupation besides his duties for the organization? YES____ NO____

STOP: TELL THE INTERVIEWER YOU HAVE COMPLETED QUESTION SISTEEN.

We would like to have your opinion on some statements which have been in the newspapers recently. Check the response which most closely represents your opinion concerning the statement.

1. Teachers should hold summer jobs since they only work for 9 months.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

2. A good school system should stress intellectual rather than vocational subjects.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

3. More money should be spent to lower the present classroom pupil-teacher ratio.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

4. Kindergartens really help prepare school children for success in the later grades.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

5. A school board should represent the desires of the public rather than the desires of teachers.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

6. The present means for state apportionment of educational funds should be changed to give Albuquerque a larger share.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

7. The teaching profession should not control the New Mexico Teacher Certification Board.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

8. Albuquerque should spend more money on subjects such as foreign language, chemistry, physics, English literature, and geometry.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

9. The Federal Government should spend more money to provide a better education in cities like Albuquerque.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

10. Since teachers are the experts, they should develop the school's curriculum.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

11. Disciplinary action should be applied to teachers who go out on strike.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

12. The public school system does a good job of preparing students for making a living.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

13. Sex education should not be taught in the public schools.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

14. Teachers are generally paid about what they are worth.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

15. The schools should spend more money on books, materials, and supplies.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

16. Because of the large expense, Albuquerque should not invest in Kindergartens.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

17. All things considered, the Albuquerque School Board is really trying to do a good job.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

18. A 12 month school year would be an efficient and beneficial change in the Albuquerque school system.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

19. Teacher certification is not a good indicator of a person's ability to teach.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

20. The present school system is not preparing students for college.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

21. For professional reasons, teachers should not hire a lobbyist to pressure the legislature.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

22. A national program of testing a student's progress would help raise the standards of Albuquerque education.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

23. The schools should spend more money on classes like typing, electrical shop, home making, and auto mechanics.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

24. Accreditation of the public schools is not important, therefore should not be of concern to the community.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

25. It is better to leave a classroom unstaffed than to employ a teacher with substandard preparation.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

26. Like everyone else, teachers have the right to strike.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

27. A giant educational complex like the proposed Educational Park is a waste of money and will not provide good education for the children.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

28. Special education for the mentally retarded could best be handled by individual parents and private philanthropic organizations.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

29. Professional educators (teachers and administrators) should not determine what subjects will be taught in schools.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

30. Since teaching is a specialized skill, the schools should not hire teacher aids who are not college educated.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

31. Cities like Albuquerque should not be forced into changing educational policies by sanctions from the National Education Association.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

32. Standardized tests which compare children from Albuquerque with other students across the nation would be a hindrance to quality education for students in Albuquerque.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

INTERVIEW

1. In what ways have different organizations sought to influence education in Albuquerque?

Probes:

____ Appeal to what is 'right' or 'wrong'

____ Threats or Rewards

____ Group has the right because of being citizens or parents-legitimate authority

____ Look at it from another standpoint like a businessman, teacher, parent

2. On what issues would you believe the Albuquerque Public Schools receive the most pressure?

3. If your organization felt that there was a specific educational issue which MUST be changed what would be the most successful way of getting the change enacted?

4. In your opinion, what makes an organization effective in changing policy into the school system?

Economic

5. Would you consider most of your members being business and professional people? YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

6. Would your organization use economic means for influencing some educational policy? YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

If YES probe to find out what kinds of pressure.

7. Would your organization consider financing a candidate for the Albuquerque School Board if it meant taking $500 out of your treasury?
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

If NO see if they would if it meant $100.

8. How many bankers are in your organization? (Excluding tellers, clerks) ____

9. How many members do you have who manage businesses of over 100 employees?____

Solidarity

10. Do most of your members attend regular meetings?
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

11. Do most of your members attend specially called meetings?
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

12. How many members would be willing to spend their own time on some special project? ____

13. Do you use Sgt. at Arms, or other means of handling members who embarrass the organization? YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

14. Approximately, how many members actively work for some political party?_____

15. Are most of your members active in their church?
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

16. Do most of your members belong to a union? YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

17. Do most of your members belong to a professional association?
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

18. Do most of your members belong to local service clubs? (Rotary,etc.)
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____

19. Do most of your members belong to other policy - making organizations?
YES____ NO____ NO RESPONSE____ (Chamber of Commerce)

20. Approximately, what is your organization's ethnic composition?
______ Caucasian (Anglo)
______ Negro
______ Spanish-American

APPENDIX IV

PRESSURE GROUP AND EDUCATIONAL GROUP IDENTIFICATION CARDS

CARD FOR ORGANIZATIONS

ISSUES

A. Kindergartens
B. Teacher Strikes
C. Vocational Education
D. Educational Park
E. Revise State School Finance Program
F. Controversial Books
G. Hiring and Firing of Teachers
H. Raising Taxes for Schools
I. Unfair Disciplinary Action
J. Change to Programmed Reading

CARD FOR EDUCATION

EFFECTIVE GROUPS		ISSUE	INEFFECTIVE GROUPS	
Most Likely to Contact	Least Likely to Contact		Most Likely to Contact	Least Likely to Contact
		A. Kindergartens		
		B. Teacher Strikes		
		C. Vocational Education		
		D. Educational Park		
		E. Revise State School Finance Program		
		F. Controversial Books		
		G. Hiring and Firing of Teachers		
		H. Raising Taxes for Schools		
		I. Unfair Disciplinary Action		
		J. Change to Programmed Reading		

APPENDIX V

EDUCATIONAL GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS AND COMMENTS

A study, directed by Tom Gustafson and under the guidance of the College of Education of the University of New Mexico, is investigating the role of interest groups in educational decision-making.

The importance of this study may be seen by the letter from the Albuquerque Public Schools and by the fact that the United States Government has awarded a research grant for the completion of the project.

The interview will be in two parts. The first part will involve lists of local organizations and you will be asked to respond to them in various ways. There will also be several short items for you to answer. The second part will be a series of questions to be asked by the interviewer. If you do not understand the question or why an item is important, do not hesitate to ask the person conducting the interview.

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The success of this study depends upon your cooperation.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Below is a list of organizations which have an interest in the Albuquerque Public Schools. Please check on the scale the rating you feel is appropriate to each group. If you do not know what rating is appropriate, do not check on the scale. In your view, how effective is each of these organizations in influencing local school policy?

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1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Journal
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Ministerial Alliance
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Tribune
1	2	3	4	Alianza
1	2	3	4	American Legion
1	2	3	4	American Medical Association
1	2	3	4	Chamber of Commerce
1	2	3	4	City Commissioners
1	2	3	4	City Manager
1	2	3	4	City Youth Council
1	2	3	4	Civil Liberties Union
1	2	3	4	Daughters of the American Revolution
1	2	3	4	Insurance Underwriters
1	2	3	4	Job Corps
1	2	3	4	John Birch Society
1	2	3	4	Junior Chamber of Commerce
1	2	3	4	Juvenile Department
1	2	3	4	Kirtland Air Force Base
1	2	3	4	League of United Latin American Citizens
1	2	3	4	League of Women Voters
1	2	3	4	Legislative Permanent Committee on School Study
1	2	3	4	Model Cities
1	2	3	4	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Cattle Growers Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Classroom Teacher's Assn., Albuquerque Classroom Teacher's Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Homebuilders Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Liquor Dealers
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Manufacturer's Assn.
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Municipal League
1	2	3	4	New Mexico Taxpayer's Assn.
1	2	3	4	Office of Economic Opportunity
1	2	3	4	Office of Education (Federal)
1	2	3	4	Planned Parenthood
1	2	3	4	Police
1	2	3	4	Priest's Senate
1	2	3	4	Parent Teacher's Association
1	2	3	4	Realtor's Association
1	2	3	4	Sandia Corporation
1	2	3	4	School Principal's Association
1	2	3	4	Southern Union Gas
1	2	3	4	State Department of Education
1	2	3	4	The Grass Roots Committee
1	2	3	4	University of Albuquerque
1	2	3	4	University of New Mexico
1	2	3	4	Urban League
1	2	3	4	Veterans of Foreign Wars

2. In your opinion, what is the prestige of each of these groups in the community? Record your response on the left-hand side of the list. If you do not know what response is appropriate, do not check on the scale.

Prestige				Organization	1	2	3
High			Low				
1	2	3	4	AFL-CIO			
1	2	3	4	Albuquerque Baptist Association			
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1	2	3	4	American Legion			
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1	2	3	4	Chamber of Commerce			
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1	2	3	4	City Manager			
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1	2	3	4	Civil Liberties Union			
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1	2	3	4	Police			
1	2	3	4	Priest's Senate			
1	2	3	4	Parent Teacher's Association			
1	2	3	4	Realtor's Association			
1	2	3	4	Sandia Corporation			
1	2	3	4	School Principal's Association			
1	2	3	4	Southern Union Gas			
1	2	3	4	State Office of Education			
1	2	3	4	The Grass Roots Committee			
1	2	3	4	University of Albuquerque			
1	2	3	4	University of New Mexico			
1	2	3	4	Urban League			
1	2	3	4	Veterans of Foreign Wars			

STOP: TELL THE INTERVIEWER YOU HAVE COMPLETED QUESTION TWO.

3. On the right-hand side of the above list are three numbers. Here is a card with current educational issues which have recently appeared in the news. In column number 1, place the letter of the issue you feel the organization would be most interested in. In column 2, place the second most important issue and do the same in column 3 for the third most important issue.

4. Using the card of educational issues and your perception of the most important pressure group, which of the persons below would the group most likely contact? Record the number of the first person most likely to be contacted on the left-hand column. Next record the number of the person least likely to be contacted by the most effective group.

1. State Superintendent
2. Albuquerque School Board
3. Albuquerque Superintendent
4. Central Office Administration
5. Principals
6. Teachers
7. Other Organizations or Groups
8. Influential Leaders in Albuquerque

5. Please repeat the same process for the least effective pressure group. Record the number of the person most likely to be contacted by this ineffective group on the right hand side of the card. Then record the number of the person least likely to be contacted by the ineffective group.

6. What is your position in the school system? ________________________________

7. What is the last school grade you attended:

___An earned doctorate
___Post master's training but did not obtain a doctorate
___Post graduate or professional training which led to a master's degree
___Post graduate courses but have not obtained a master's degree
___Graduated from a college or university
___Completed at least one year of college but did not graduate

8. Are you a member of any of the following:

___New Mexico Classroom Teacher's Assn. or the Albuquerque Classroom Teacher's Assn.
___Albuquerque Federation of Teachers
___Some other organization sponsored by the National Education Association
___Other professional educational organizations

(Please name) ______________________________

___Not a member of a professional educational organization

STOP: TELL THE INTERVIEWER YOU HAVE COMPLETED QUESTION EIGHT.

We would like to have your opinion on some statements which have been in the newspapers recently. Check the response which most closely represents your opinion concerning the statement.

1. Teachers should hold summer jobs since they only work for 9 months.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

2. A good school system should stress intellectual rather than vocational subjects.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

3. More money should be spent to lower the present classroom pupil-teacher ratio.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

4. Kindergartens really help prepare school children for success in the later grades.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

5. A school board should represent the desires of the public rather than the desires of teachers.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

6. The present means for state apportionment of educational funds should be changed to give Albuquerque a larger share.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

7. The teaching profession should not control the New Mexico Teacher Certification Board.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

8. Albuquerque should spend more money on subjects such as foreign language, chemistry, physics, English literature, and geometry.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

9. The Federal Government should spend more money to provide a better education in cities like Albuquerque.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

10. Since teachers are the experts, they should develop the school's curriculum.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

11. Disciplinary action should be applied to teachers who go out on strike.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

12. The public school system does a good job of preparing students for making a living.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

13. Sex education should not be taught in the public schools.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

14. Teachers are generally paid about what they are worth.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

15. The schools should spend more money on books, materials, and supplies.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

16. Because of the large expense, Albuquerque should not invest in Kindergartens.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

17. All things considered, the Albuquerque School Board is really trying to do a good job.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

18. A 12 month school year would be an efficient and beneficial change in the Albuquerque school system.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

19. Teacher certification is not a good indicator of a person's ability to teach.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

20. The present school system is not preparing students for college.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

21. For professional reasons, teachers should not hire a lobbyist to pressure the legislature.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

22. A national program of testing a student's progress would help raise the standards of Albuquerque education.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

23. The schools should spend more money on classes like typing, electrical shop, home making, and auto mechanics.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

24. Accreditation of the public schools is not important, therefore should not be of concern to the community.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

25. It is better to leave a classroom unstaffed than to employ a teacher with substandard preparation.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

26. Like everyone else, teachers have the right to strike.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

27. A giant educational complex like the proposed Educational Park is a waste of money and will not provide good education for the children.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

28. Special education for the mentally retarded could best be handled by individual parents and private philanthropic organizations.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

29. Professional educators (teachers and administrators) should not determine what subjects will be taught in schools.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

30. Since teaching is a specialized skill, the schools should not hire teacher aids who are not college educated.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

31. Cities like Albuquerque should not be forced into changing educational policies by sanctions from the National Education Association.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

32. Standardized tests which compare children from Albuquerque with other students across the nation would be a hindrance to quality education for students in Albuquerque.

___1. Strongly agree
___2. Moderately agree
___3. Slightly agree
___4. Slightly disagree
___5. Moderately disagree
___6. Strongly disagree

APPENDIX VI

EDUCATIONAL GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW

1. In what ways have different educational pressure groups sought to influence your decisions?

Probes:

____ Appeal to what is 'right' or 'wrong'

____ Threats or Rewards

____ Group has the right because of being citizens or parents - legitimate authority

____ Look at it from another standpoint like a businessman, teacher, parent

2. On what issues do you receive the most pressure from the community?

Probes:

Issues from the card

3. Do you believe the pressure you receive is typical for people in your position?

Yes______ No______ Don't know______

Probes:

If no, why

If don't know, why

4. In your opinion, what makes any group effective in influencing educational decisions?

APPENDIX VII

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR THE INTERVIEWER

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO | ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87106

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS
TELEPHONE 505: 277-5142

January 13, 1969

Dear Sir:

Public education has been an important issue in New Mexico this past year. Because of the vital nature of education to the community and some of the events which have recently occurred in Albuquerque, a research study has been designed by Tom Gustafson and is sponsored by the College of Education of the University of New Mexico. The proposal has been awarded a research grant from the Federal Government and has the approval of the Albuquerque Public Schools.

Basically, the study is to determine the role of interest groups in educational decision-making. Because of your position within an organization, you have been chosen as part of the sample to be interviewed. The interview will be of a confidential nature and should last between 30 and 45 minutes. In the next several days, a researcher will contact you to set up an interview at your convenience. Your cooperation is essential to the success of this project.

Sincerely,

Tom Gustafson

Thomas Gustafson
Principle Investigator

TG:m

APPENDIX VIII

COMPUTER PRINTOUT FOR THE PRESSURE GROUP SAMPLE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

```
GUSTAFSON  DISSERTATION  3/69(PG)  ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

 THIS IS ANALYSIS NUMBER     1
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.3887E 02  0.3887E 02        3.23
WITHIN          47   0.5661E 03  0.1205E 02
TOTAL           48   0.6050E 03

     3.227 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1058E 02  0.1058E 02        4.64
WITHIN          47   0.1073E 03  0.2282E 01
TOTAL           48   0.1178E 03
     4.636 IS SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL ONLY **********
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1580E 02  0.1580E 02        1.56
WITHIN          47   0.4775E 03  0.1016E 02
TOTAL           48   0.4933E 03
     1.555 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.3943E 02  0.3943E 02        5.22
WITHIN          47   0.3548E 03  0.7549E 01
TOTAL           48   0.3942E 03
     5.223 IS SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL ONLY **********
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.3292E 02  0.3292E 02        3.39
WITHIN          47   0.4562E 03  0.9706E 01
TOTAL           48   0.4891E 03
     3.391 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.4592E 00  0.4592E 00        0.04
WITHIN          47   0.6078E 03  0.1293E 02
TOTAL           48   0.6082E 03
     0.036 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS          MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1390E 03  0.1390E 03        9.70.
WITHIN          47   0.6734E 03  0.1433E 02
TOTAL           48   0.8124E 03
     9.703 IS SIGNIFICANT AT .01 LEVEL ***************
MEAN OF GROUP    2
   10.5714    5.8571    13.2857    11.0714    24.6429    23.6429    23.6429
STANDARD DEVIATION OF GROUP    2
    2.9539    1.7033     3.5611     2.1649     2.7346     4.0117     3.7541
MEAN OF GROUP    3
   12.5429    6.8857    14.5429    13.0571    22.8286    23.4285    27.3714
STANDARD DEVIATION OF GROUP    3
    3.6459    1.4302     3.0326     2.9400     3.2493     3.4239     3.7969
 NUMBER PER GROUP

            0            14            35
            0             0             0
```

APPENDIX IX

COMPUTER PRINTOUT FOR THE EDUCATIONAL GROUP SAMPLE ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

```
    GUSTAFSON  DISSERTATION  3/69 (ED)  ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE
 THIS IS ANALYSIS NUMBER      1
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1361E 02   0.1361E 02          1.07
WITHIN          46   0.5874E 03   0.1277E 02
TOTAL           47   0.6010E 03
     1.066 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.6806E 01   0.6806E 01          2.98
WITHIN          46   0.1051E 03   0.2285E 01
TOTAL           47   0.1119E 03
     2.978 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1620E 02   0.1620E 02          1.64
WITHIN          46   0.4535E 03   0.9858E 01
TOTAL           47   0.4697E 03
     1.643 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.5723E 02   0.5723E 02          7.87
WITHIN          46   0.3347E 03   0.7277E 01
TOTAL           47   0.3920E 03
     7.865 IS SIGNIFICANT AT .01 LEVEL ****************
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.3873E 02   0.3873E 02          4.01
WITHIN          46   0.4447E 03   0.9668E 01
TOTAL           47   0.4835E 03
     4.006 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1392E-02   0.1392E-02          0.00
WITHIN          46   0.5958E 03   0.1295E 02
TOTAL           47   0.5958E 03
     0.000 IS NOT SIGNIFICANT AT .05 LEVEL
SOURCE          DF          SS             MS              F
TREATMENTS      1.   0.1531E 03   0.1531E 03         10.80
WITHIN          46   0.6519E 03   0.1417E 02
TOTAL           47   0.8050E 03
    10.802 IS SIGNIFICANT AT .01 LEVEL ****************
MEAN OF GROUP    2
   11.3333     6.0555    13.3333    11.1111    24.5555    23.5555    23.9444
STANDARD DEVIATION OF GROUP    2
    3.1808     1.7973     3.1249     2.1113     2.7273     3.7294     3.8726
MEAN OF GROUP    3
   12.4333     6.8333    14.5333    13.3667    22.7000    23.5667    27.6333
STANDARD DEVIATION OF GROUP    3
    3.7846     1.3153     3.1484     2.9883     3.3130     3.5202     3.6998
 NUMBER PER GROUP   .

             0              18             30
             0               0              0
```

APPENDIX X

COMPUTER PRINTOUT FOR THE PRESSURE GROUP SAMPLE MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATE ANALYSIS

```
DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS.....GUSTAFSON DISSERTATION 3/69  (PG)
GROUP   1
                         PROBABILITY ASSOCIATED WITH                LARGEST
  OBSERVATION          LARGEST DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION              FUNCTION NO.
       1                           0.85338                              1
       2                           0.91046                              1
       3                           0.86217                              1
       4                           0.79963                              1
       5                           0.91197                              1
       6                           0.98356                              1
       7                           0.57251                              1
       8                           0.53485                              2
       9                           0.77868                              2
      10                           0.64897                              1
      11                           0.84149                              1
      12                           0.73353                              1

GROUP   2
                         PROBABILITY ASSOCIATED WITH                LARGEST
  OBSERVATION          LARGEST DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION              FUNCTION NO.
       1                           0.67931                              2
       2                           0.96063                              2
       3                           0.55097                              1
       4                           0.59099                              2
       5                           0.95674                              2
       6                           0.86644                              1
       7                           0.61162                              2
       8                           0.56580                              2
       9                           0.98927                              2
      10                           0.91403                              2
      11                           0.93704                              2
      12                           0.82772                              2
      13                           0.88739                              2
      14                           0.88031                              1
      15                           0.59611                              2
      16                           0.91269                              2
      17                           0.63092                              1
      18                           0.92714                              2
      19                           0.59269                              1
      20                           0.59269                              1
      21                           0.90990                              2
      22                           0.98726                              2
      23                           0.71514                              1
      24                           0.53182                              2
      25                           0.92026                              2
      26                           0.97112                              2
      27                           0.79576                              2
      28                           0.93002                              2
      29                           0.59193                              2
      30                           0.86097                              2
      31                           0.81375                              1
      32                           0.98035                              2
      33                           0.59640                              2
      34                           0.85898                              2
      35                           0.90613                              2
      36                           0.70662                              2
      37                           0.90441                              2
 GENERALIZED MAHALANOBIS D-SQUARE          24.04132
```

APPENDIX XI

COMPUTER PRINTOUT FOR THE EDUCATIONAL GROUP SAMPLE MULTIPLE DISCRIMINATE ANALYSIS

```
DISCRIMINANT ANALYSIS.....GUSTAFSON DISSERTATION 3/69 (ED)

GROUP  1
                        PROBABILITY ASSOCIATED WITH          LARGEST
  OBSERVATION          LARGEST DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION        FUNCTION NO.
       1                         0.72760                         1
       2                         0.76453                         1
       3                         0.88059                         1
       4                         0.89116                         1
       5                         0.88076                         1
       6                         0.70256                         1
       7                         0.62937                         2
       8                         0.84708                         1
       9                         0.89802                         1
      10                         0.53161                         2
      11                         0.97762                         1
      12                         0.81153                         1
      13                         0.56652                         1
      14                         0.78764                         2
      15                         0.52152                         1
      16                         0.84017                         1
      17                         0.92646                         2
      18                         0.93366                         1
      19                         0.54543                         1

GROUP  2
                        PROBABILITY ASSOCIATED WITH          LARGEST
  OBSERVATION          LARGEST DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION        FUNCTION NO.
       1                         0.77392                         2
       2                         0.54951                         2
       3                         0.92236                         2
       4                         0.83921                         2
       5                         0.70883                         2
       6                         0.53128                         1
       7                         0.52165                         1
       8                         0.96056                         2
       9                         0.71643                         1
      10                         0.90778                         2
      11                         0.93714                         2
      12                         0.53793                         2
      13                         0.76636                         2
      14                         0.56891                         2
      15                         0.74167                         1
      16                         0.74691                         2
      17                         0.59207                         2
      18                         0.92497                         2
      19                         0.61845                         1
      20                         0.74313                         2
      21                         0.95155                         2
      22                         0.79338                         1
      23                         0.76116                         2
      24                         0.58669                         2
      25                         0.70249                         2
      26                         0.71596                         2
      27                         0.54951                         2
      28                         0.98592                         2
      29                         0.56409                         1
      30                         0.83606                         2
    GENERALIZED MAHALANOBIS D-SQUARE          22.75491
```

APPENDIX XII

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX OF EDUCATIONAL ITEMS FOR PRESSURE GROUP SAMPLE

APPENDIX XII -- Rotated factor matrix of educational items for pressure group sample

Variable*	Factors 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	h^2
1. Teacher Professionalism	12	01	01	-12	-06	-10	-03	-05	07	76	-27	701
2. Curriculum (Intellectual)	01	10	88	02	-08	09	24	04	-11	-01	01	878
3. Financial Distribution	-22	76	10	11	04	06	15	05	04	00	-12	701
4. Broad Educational Policy	-02	10	-12	83	06	10	05	04	01	-10	06	743
5. School Board	11	-35	20	50	-11	27	-13	02	-49	-02	-23	816
6. Financial Reapportionment	-25	39	40	22	22	16	-28	-18	11	16	21	679
7. Teacher Professionalism	63	-38	-03	24	-10	03	-04	-03	-08	34	01	739
8. Curriculum (Intellectual)	-01	23	20	20	06	-10	77	07	06	04	-15	764
9. Financial Reapportionment	-71	09	-14	27	-10	09	20	05	-07	-00	33	773
10. Teacher Professionalism	-53	25	04	26	11	51	-10	-24	-14	04	-12	778
11. Teacher Professionalism	63	23	-10	-08	-03	16	23	15	-35	08	-14	706
12. Curriculum (Vocational)	-03	01	44	-05	-21	22	36	-31	-36	14	22	710
13. Curriculum Innovation	43	-07	07	12	17	-04	05	52	04	05	30	602
14. Teacher Professionalism	13	-03	10	-22	14	-05	-29	46	-33	53	26	778
15. Financial Distribution	-03	75	-06	15	-20	-02	31	10	07	-22	15	820
16. Broad Educational Policy	07	08	25	-64	06	04	-06	47	-26	-02	01	784
17. School Board	10	66	27	-27	11	28	04	-18	-04	27	06	790
18. Broad Educational Policy	07	06	-03	01	-13	-05	03	07	01	11	-83	735
19. Teacher Professionalism	-04	-16	-21	-11	07	-16	-04	75	21	07	-28	807
20. Curriculum (Intellectual)	-41	-31	14	-19	26	-43	09	07	-04	-11	-37	728
21. Teacher Professionalism	08	-12	16	09	04	-12	35	15	-14	63	21	673
22. National Assessment	-25	15	12	33	05	67	-03	10	02	13	02	686
23. Curriculum (Vocational)	-01	-03	-88	23	-11	02	05	07	-02	-11	04	860
24. Accreditation	07	-32	03	16	-12	-01	-71	18	05	00	-09	700
25. Teacher Professionalism	-09	-06	-05	08	-01	11	02	10	84	-06	-04	753
26. Teacher Professionalism	-77	18	11	06	-39	09	-10	03	14	-10	-12	852
27. Broad Educational Policy	10	-50	23	-07	-14	41	13	19	27	01	29	713
28. Special Education	14	01	-02	03	88	01	07	23	-04	-05	12	863
29. Teacher Professionalism	01	-67	-11	11	11	16	-25	36	22	14	09	787
30. Teacher Professionalism	20	-03	15	01	57	-20	52	-19	21	11	03	802
31. NEA Sanctions	60	03	21	31	17	-41	-19	25	04	04	03	795
32. National Assessment	-02	12	-04	07	07	-85	09	14	-05	11	-06	788

*The complete question for the variable may be found in Appendix II

APPENDIX XIII

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX OF EDUCATIONAL ITEMS FOR EDUCATIONAL GROUP SAMPLE

APPENDIX XIII -- Rotated factor matrix of educational items for educational group sample

Variable*	Factors													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	h^2
1. Teacher Professionalism	-36	21	-03	40	05	09	14	04	09	11	68	-13	00	856
2. Curriculum (Intellectual)	-11	15	05	77	-17	01	05	-17	08	-10	08	-21	-06	763
3. Financial Distribution	07	-00	02	12	-02	-02	-10	07	-07	-00	00	-87	-10	797
4. Broad Educational Policy	26	10	-44	-13	55	-08	25	-02	04	09	20	-41	27	761
5. School Board	01	12	90	08	-04	-03	-08	11	06	08	04	-04	13	879
6. Financial Reapportionment	78	12	11	-22	16	01	15	03	08	-00	17	06	10	783
7. Teacher Professionalism	12	14	02	-07	-33	03	41	45	14	18	21	01	-05	622
8. Curriculum (Intellectual)	05	-40	12	68	01	-06	-29	09	18	14	-08	17	01	829
9. Financial Reapportionment	20	06	-06	-00	82	17	00	-01	-12	07	07	05	16	797
10. Teacher Professionalism	-26	-15	06	05	03	04	06	13	13	-28	-23	-01	75	836
11. Teacher Professionalism	03	01	12	-06	01	-09	05	86	13	-10	14	05	17	849
12. Curriculum (Vocational)	10	05	04	04	12	07	-03	09	07	87	-04	-01	04	802
13. Curriculum Innovation	10	54	15	26	-49	-13	25	04	-05	-13	05	27	04	811
14. Teacher Professionalism	-12	16	04	07	-14	06	-06	07	84	22	-01	02	08	844
15. Financial Distribution	78	05	-11	19	13	11	-06	11	-14	-13	-17	07	-05	781
16. Broad Educational Policy	-13	02	19	29	-50	56	05	02	14	21	-03	11	15	806
17. School Board	73	22	02	-18	-02	-23	04	24	11	-01	08	-00	00	799
18. Broad Educational Policy	14	26	-18	-12	-04	-01	-44	-21	07	18	21	11	52	733
19. Teacher Professionalism	23	-03	-11	-18	-11	-39	65	21	12	08	08	-06	05	765
20. Curriculum (Intellectual)	-43	-10	27	15	-04	47	03	-19	06	-33	01	22	19	742
21. Teacher Professionalism	05	82	01	16	10	11	-11	13	-01	-01	-14	06	-18	813
22. National Assessment	-24	21	-49	54	01	-07	-16	-01	-03	36	11	-06	12	831
23. Curriculum (Vocational)	78	-10	-00	14	12	09	-05	-03	-18	25	05	-03	-09	772
24. Accreditation	01	-03	03	08	09	03	05	05	88	-12	10	04	04	830
25. Teacher Professionalism	-14	-01	-26	02	-17	19	-04	-09	01	-39	-11	-13	-71	842
26. Teacher Professionalism	-11	-25	-00	02	01	-19	15	-78	05	-27	03	18	10	863
27. Broad Educational Policy	-03	11	-03	-02	14	25	77	-22	-08	-10	-08	17	00	783
28. Special Education	-75	06	-10	24	02	04	-10	10	-04	-11	-07	31	-01	762
29. Teacher Professionalism	04	-17	26	-05	60	-09	02	-04	34	21	-12	25	-21	752
30. Teacher Professionalism	-31	14	-04	08	-03	03	10	-16	-05	10	-81	-03	03	841
31. NEA Sanctions	10	76	06	-16	-07	-05	14	09	15	16	10	-13	14	741
32. National Assessment	13	04	15	-22	18	76	06	12	06	07	05	-06	-19	764

*The complete question for the variable may be found in Appendix V.

VITAE

Thomas John Gustafson was born in Torrance, California on May 18, 1936. He attended elementary and secondary schools in Los Angeles and Bakersfield prior to his graduation from East Bakersfield High School in 1954. He received a bachelor's degree in 1958, and a General Secondary Teaching Credential in 1959 from Fresno State College. Shortly thereafter, Mr. Gustafson was inducted into the Army where he spent his tour of duty in San Antonio, Texas. Following his 1961 discharge, he studied and did youth work in Dallas with the Young Life Campaign. He obtained a Master of Arts degree from the Young Life Institute in 1962.

In 1964, Mr. Gustafson traveled through thirty-three countries studying religion and education. After his travels, he began teaching on the secondary level in the Albuquerque Public Schools. He entered the University of New Mexico and earned a master's degree in sociology in 1967. The following year, he was accepted into the doctorate program in Educational Foundations where he worked as a graduate assistant. In the fall of 1968, he was awarded an Office of Education grant to finance his dissertation. At the same time, he accepted the position of part-time instructor and director of an American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education Job-Corps project designed to train teachers for inner-city schools. He retained this position until the requirements for his Doctor of Philosophy degree were completed in June of 1969.